HISTORY

OF

His Own Time.

FROM THE

RESTORATION of King CHARLES II.

TOTHE

CONCLUSION of the TREATY of PEACE at UTRECHT, in the Reign of Queen ANNE.

To which is prefixed,

A SUMMARY RECAPITULATION of Affairs in Church and State, from King James I. to the RESTORATION in the Year 1660.

Together with

The AUTHOR'S LIFE, by the EDITOR.

And some EXPLANATORY NOTES. The whole revised and corrected by him.

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My Own Times.



H E Duke of Marlborough had a 1703. great domestick affliction at this time: He lost his only Son, a Prepara-graceful person, and a very pro-the Cam-mising youth: He died at Cam-paign. bridge of the Small-Pox : This,

as may be imagined, went very deep in his Father's heart, and stopt his passing the Seas some days longer than he had intended. Upon his arrival on the other side, the Dutch brought their Armies into the Field: The first thing they undertook, was the Siege of Bonne. In the mean while, all mens eyes were turned towards Bavaria: The Court of Vienna had given it out, all the former winter, that they would bring such a force upon that Elector, as would quickly put an end to that war, and feize his whole country. But the flowness of that Court appeared on this, as it had done on many other occasions: For the' they VOL. IV.

1703. brought two armies into the field, yet they were not able to deal with the Elector's forces; Villars, who lay with his army at Strafbourg, had orders to break thro' and join the Elector: So he was to force his way to him, at all adventures. He paffed the Rhine, and fet down before Fort Keil, which lay over against Strasbourg, and took it in a few days. Prince Lewis was in no condition to raise the siege; for the best part of his army was called away to the war in Bavaria: He therefore posted himself advantageously at Stollhoffen, yet he could not have maintained it, if the States had not fent him a good body of foot, which came feafonably, a few days before Mareschal Villars attack'd him with an Army, that was more than double his number: But his men, chiefly the Dutch battalions, received them with fo much courage, that the French were forced to quit the attack, after they had loft about four thousand men in it. Yet, upon repeated orders from France, Mareschal Villars refolved to venture the loss of his whole army, rather than abandon the Elector; who, tho he had taken Newburg, and had furprized Ratifbon, and had feveral advantages in little engagements with the Imperialists, yet was like to be over-powered by a fuperior force, if he was not relieved in time. The Black Forest was thought impracticable in that feafon, which was a very wet one: This was too much trusted to, so that the passes were ill looked after: and therefore Villars overcame all difficulties, and joined the Elector: but his troops were fo haraffed with the march, that he was obliged to put them, for some time, into quarters of refreshment.

ken.

Bonne ta- The Duke of Marlborough carried on the fiege of Bonne with fuch vigour, that they capitulated within ten days after the trenches were opened: The French reckoned upon a longer reliftance, and hoped to have diverted this by an attempt upon Liege. The States had a fmall army about Maftricht, O

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tricht, which the French intended to fall upon, 1703. being much superior to it: But they found the Dutch in fo good order, and fo well posted, that they retired within their lines, as foon as they faw the Duke of Marlborough, after the fiege of Bonne, was marching towards them. The winter had produced very little action in Italy: The country was under another very heavy plague, by a continued fuccession of threatning, and of some very devouring earthquakes: Rome itself had a share in Earththe common calamity; but it proved to them more quakes in dreadful, than it was mischievous. Prince Eugene found that his letters, and the most preffing reprefentations he could fend to the Court of Vienna, had no effect: so at last he obtained leave to go thither.

The motions of the Dutch Army made it be- The bat-

lieved, there was a delign on Antwerp: Cohorn tle of was making advances in the Dutch Flanders, and Eckeren. Opdam commanded a small army on the other side of the Scheld, while the Duke of Marlborough lay with the main army, near the lines in Brabant. Bouflers was detached from Villeroy's army, with a body, double in number to Opdam's, to fall on him; he marched so quick, that the Dutch, being surprized at Eckeren, were put in great diforder, and Opdam, apprehending all was loft, fled with a body of his men to Breda: But the Dutch rallied, and maintained their ground with fuch firmness, that the French retired, little to their honour; fince the' they were much superior in number, yet they let the Dutch recover out of their first confusion, and keep their ground, although for-

Bouflers's conduct was fo much censured, that it was thought this finished his disgrace; for he was no more put at the head of the French Armies: Nor was the Duke of Marlborough without some

taken by their General, who justified himself in

the best manner he could, and cast the blame on

Ihare

1703. Share of censure on this occasion, since it was pretended, that he ought to have fent a force to support Opdam, or have made an attempt on Villeroy's army, when it was weakened by the detachment fent with Bouflers.

Huy, all the taken.

The French lines were judged to be fo ftrong, Limbourg that the forcing them feemed impracticable, fo the and Guel-Duke of Marlborough turned towards Huy, which was foon taken; and after that to Limbourg, Coudras which he took with no loss, but that of so much time, as was necessary to bring up a train of artillery: And as foon as that was done, the garrison were made prisoners of war, for they were in no condition to maintain a fiege. Guelder was also blockt up, so that before the end of the campaign, it was brought to capitulate. Thus the Lower Rhine was fecured, and all that country, called the Coudras, was intirely reduced: This was all that our troops, in conjunction with the Dutch, could do in Flanders: We had the superior army, but what by reason of the cautious maxims of the States, what by reason of the Factions among them (which were rifing very high, between those, who had been of the late King's party, and were now for having a Captain General, and those of the Love-Itein party, who were for governing all by a deputation from the States) no great defign could be undertaken by an army fo much diffracted.

The fuc-French on the Danube.

In the Upper Rhine, matters went much worse; ce's of the Villars lay for some time on the Danube, while the Elector of Bavaria marched into Tirol, and poffeffed himself of Inspruck: The Emperor's force was so broken into many small armies, in different places, that he had not one good army any where: he had none at all in Tirol: and all that the Prince of Baden could do, was to watch Villars's motions: but he did not venture on attacking him, during this feparation. Many blamed his conduct: fome called his courage, and others his fidelity in question; while many excused him, since his army

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ny 125 was both weak, and ill furnished in all respects. 1703. The Duke of Vendome had orders to march from the Milaneze to Tirol, there to join the Elector of Bavaria: upon which junction, the ruin of the house of Austria would have probably followed: But the Boors in Tirol role, and attacked the Elector with fo much resolution, that he was forced to retire out of the country, with confiderable lofs, and was driven out before the Duke of Vendome could join him, so that he came too late: He seemed to have a delign on Trent, but the Boors were now to animated with their fuccesses, and were so conducted and supported by officers and troops fent them by the Emperor, that Vendome was forced to return back, without being able to effect any thing.

Nothing passed this summer in Italy: The Im- Little perialifts were too weak, and too ill supplied from done in Germany, to be able to act offensively: and the Italy. miscarriage of the delign upon Tirol, lost the French to much time, that they undertook nothing, unless it were the fiege of Offiglia, in which they failed. Berfello, after a long blockade, was forced to capitulate, and by that means, the French possessed themselves of the Duke of Modena's country: The Duke of Burgundy came to Alface, and fate down before Brifack, of which he was foon mafter, by the cowardice or treachery of those who commanded, for which they were condemned by a council

not support to at a base to be then The Emperor's misfortunes grew upon him; A war Cardinal Calonitz and Esterhali had the govern-begun in ment of Hungary trusted chiefly to them: The Hungary, former was fo cruel, and the other fo ravenous, that the Hungarians took advantage from this diltraction in the Emperor's affairs, to run together in great bodies, and in many places, fetting Prince Ragotski at their head. They demanded, that their grievances should be redressed, and that their privileges should be restored: They were much animated in this, by the practices of the French, 13W01

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1703. and the Elector of Bavaria's agents: Some finall affiftance was fent them by the way of Poland; They were encouraged to enter upon no treaty, but to unite and fortify themselves; assurances being given them, that no Peace should be concluded, unless they were fully restored to all their antient liberties.

Diforders in the Emperor's court.

The Court of Vienna was much alarmed at this; fearing it might be fecretly fet on by the Turks: tho' that Court gave all possible assurances, that they would maintain the peace of Carlowitz most religiously, and that they would in no fort encourage or affift the malecontents. A revolution happening in that Empire, in which a new Sultan was fet up, raifed new apprehensions of a breach on that fide: But the Sultan renewed the affurances of maintaining the Peace fo folemnly, that all those fears were foon diffipated. There was a great faction in the Emperor's court, and among his ministers; and it did not appear, that he had strength of genius enough to govern them. Count Mansfield was much suspected of being in the interests of France; The Prince of Baden, and Prince Eugene, both agreed in charging his conduct, tho' they differed almost in every thing else: yet he was so possessed of the Emperor's favour and confidence, that it was not easy to get him set aside: In conclusion, he was advanced to a high Post in the Emperor's houshold, and Prince Eugene was made President of the Council of War.

Augfbourg and Landaw taken by the French.

But what effect foever this might have in fucceeding campaigns, it was then too late in the year to find remedies for the present disorders: and all affairs on the fouth of the Danube were falling into great confusion. Things went a little better on the north fide of that river: The Upper Palatinate was entirely conquered; but near the end of the year, Augsbourg was forced to submit to the Elector of Bavaria, and Landaw was belieged by the French Tallard, who commanded the fiege, took it in all

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fewer weeks, than it had cost the Germans months, 1702. to take it in the former year: Nor was this all, an army of the confederates was brought together to raile the flege: The young Prince of Helle commanded, but the Prince of Nassaw Welburg, as a man of more experience in war, was chiefly depended on; the' his conduct shewed how little he deserved it. The Emperor's birth-day was a day of diversion, and the German Generals, then at Spire, allowed themselves all the idle liberties, used in courts on fuch days, without the ordinary precaution, of having Scouts or Parties abroad, in the fame careless state, as if no enemy had been near them. Tallard, having intelligence of this, left a party of his army to make a flew, and maintain the Works before Landaw; and marched with his best troops against the Germans: He surprized and routed them; upon which Landaw capitulated: with this the warlike operations of this campaign ended, very gloriously, and with great advantage to the French. A save seed the same of the

But two great negotiations, then brought to a A treaty conclusion, very much changed the face of affairs: with the All the confederates preffed the King of Portugal King of to come into the alliance, as his own interest led Portugal. him to it; fince it was visible, that as soon as Spain was once united to the Crown of France, he could not hope to continue long in Portugal. The Almirante of Castile was believed to be in the interests of the House of Austria; therefore to send him out of the way, he was appointed to go Ambassador to France: He seemed to undertake it, and made the necessary preparations: He saw this Embaffy was intended for an exile, and that it put him in the power of his enemies: So, after he had railed what was necessary to defray his expence, he fecretly changed his course, and escaped with the wealth he had in his hands to Lisbon; where he entered into fecret negotiations with the King of Portugal, and the Emperor: He gave great af-

The HISTORY of the Reign

1703. furances of the good dispositions, in which both the people and Grandees of Spain were, who were grown fick of their new masters. The risque he himself ran, seemed a very full credential: He asfured them, the new King was despised, and that the French about him were univerfally hated; the Spaniards could not bear the being made a Province, either to France or to the Emperor.

> He therefore proposed that the Emperor and the King of the Romans should renounce all their pretensions, and transfer them to the Archduke, and declare him King of Spain; and that he should be immediately fent thither; for he affured them, the Spaniards would not revolt from a King that was in possession, till they saw another King, who claimed his right: and in that case, they would think they had a right to adhere to the King they liked best: The King of Portugal likewise demanded an enlargement of his frontiers, and fome new acceffions to his crown, which were reasonable, but could not be stipulated, but by a King of Spain.

A treaty to gain Fortugal.

In the treaty, that the Emperor had made with the late King, and with the States, one article was, that they should be at liberty to possess themselves of the dominions, which the Crown of Spain had in the West-Indies, and he vested in them the right, that their arms should give them, in these acquisitions; upon which the King had defigned to fend a great fleet, with a land army, into the bay of Mexico, to seize some important places there, with a design of restoring them to the Crown of Spain, upon advantageous articles for a free trade, as foon as the Spaniards should receive a King of the House of Austria. This defign was now laid aside, and the reason that the Ministers gave for it, was, that the Almirante had affured them, that if we pofsessed our selves of any of their places in the West-Indies, the whole nation would by that means become entirely French; they would never believe our promises of restoring them; and seeing they I forances

had no naval power of their own to recover them, 1703. they would go into the French interest very cordially, as the only way left to recover these places.

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An entire credit was given to the Almirante; fo the Queen and the States agreed to fend over a great fleet, with a land army of twelve thousand men, together with a great supply of money and arms to Portugal; that King undertaking to have an army of twenty eight thousand men ready to join ours. In this treaty an incident happened, that had almost spoiled the whole; the King of Portugal infifted on demanding the flag, and the other respects to be paid by our Admiral, when he was in his ports: The Earl of Nottingham infifted, it was a dishonour to England to strike, even in another King's ports; this was not demanded of the fleet, that was fent to bring over Queen Katharine, fo, tho' Methuen our Ambassador had agreed to this article, he pressed the Queen not to ratify it. 1200 bi son sow King of Spain thou

Methuen, in his own justification, faid, he confented to the article, because he saw it was insisted on fo much, that no treaty could be concluded, unless that point were yielded: The low state of their affairs, in the year 1662, when the protection of England was all they had in view, for their prefervation, made fuch a difference between that and the present time, that the one was not to be set up for a precedent to govern the other: belides, even then the matter was much contested in their Councils, tho' the extremities, to which they were reduced, made them yield it. The Lord Godolphin looked on this as too inconsiderable to be insisted on, the whole affairs of Europe feemed to turn upon this treaty, and so important a matter ought not to be retarded a day for fuch punctilio's, as a talute or striking the flag: and it seemed reasonable, that every Sovereign Prince should claim this acknowledgment, unless where it was otherwise stipulated by express treaties. The laying so much

weight on fuch matters, very much heightened jealousies; and it was said, that the Earl of Nottingham and the Tories feemed to lay hold on every thing that could obstruct the progress of the war; while the round proceeding of the Lord Godolphin reconciled many to him. The Queen confirmed the treaty; upon which, the Court of Vienna was defired to do their part. But that Court proceeded with its ordinary flowness; the mildest censure past on these delays was, that they proecceded from an unreasonable affectation of magnificence in the ceremonial, which could not be performed foon nor easily, in a poor but a haughty Court: It was done at last, but so late in the year, that the new declared King of Spain could not reach Holland before the end of October. A foundron of our fleet was lying there, to bring him over; fuch as was wont to convoy the late King, when he crossed the seas. But the Ministers of the King of Spain thought it was not strong enough; they pretended, they had advertisements, that the French had a stronger squadron in Dunkirk, which might be fent out to intercept him: fo an additio-

wind in Novem-

tair wind, on malw up the paper out to The great - It had like to have been more fatal; for about the end of November the weather grew very boilterous, and broke out on the 27th of November, in the most violent storm, both by sea and land, that had been known in the memory of man: The city of London was so shaken with it, that people were generally afraid of being buried in the ruins of their houses: Some houses fell and crushed their mafters to death: great hurt was done in the fouthern parts of England; little happening in the North, where the ftorm was not fo violent. There was a great fall of trees, chiefly of elms, that were blown down by the wind. We had, at that time, the best part of our naval force upon the sea: which filled all people with great apprehensions of an irreparable

nal ftrength was fent; this loft fome time, and a

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reparable loss; and indeed, if the storm had not 1703. been at its height at full flood, and in a fpring tide, the loss might have proved fatal to the nation. It was fo confiderable, that fourteen or fifteen men of war were cast away, in which 1500 feamen perished; few merchantmen were lost; fuch as were driven to fea were fafe: fome few only were over-fet. Thus the most threatning danger, to which the nation could be exposed, went off with little damage: we all faw our hazard, fince the lofs of our fleet must have been the loss of the nation. If this great hurricane had come at low water, or in a quarter tide, our ships must have been driven out upon the banks of fand, that lie before the coast, and have stuck and perished there, as some of the men of war did: but the fea being fo full of water, all but some heavy ships got over these safe: Our squadron, which was then in the Maese, suffered but little, and the ships were foon refitted, and ready to fail. fiz-16/2005/ell

About the end of December the King of Spain The new landed at Portsmouth; the Duke of Somerset was King of fent by the Queen to receive him, and to bring came to him to an interview, which was to be at Windfor; England. Prince George went and met him on the way, and he was treated with great magnificence: The Court was very fplendid, and much thronged; the Queen's behaviour towards him was very noble and obliging: The young King charmed all that were there; he had a gravity beyond his age, tempered with much modesty; his behaviour was in all points fo exact, that there was not a circumstance, in his whole deportment, that was liable to centure: He paid an extraordinary respect to the Queen, and yet maintained a due greatness in it. He had an art of feeming well pleafed with every thing, without fo much as fmiling once all the while he was at Court, which was only three days: He spoke but little, and all he said was judicious and obliging. All possible haste was made, in fitting

ting out the fleet, so that he set fail in the beginning of January, and for five days he had a fair wind with good weather, but then the wind changed, and he was driven back to Portsmouth: He lay there above three weeks, and then he had a very prosperous navigation. The forces, that were ordered to go over to his affistance, were by this time got ready to attend on him, fo he failed with a great fleet, both of men of war and transport ships:

He arrived happily at Lisbon, where he was reat Lisbon, ceived with all the outward expressions of joy and welcome, and at an expence, in a vain magnificence, which that Court could not well bear: but a national vanity prevailed to carry this too far, by which other things, that were more necessary, were neglected: That Court was then very melancholy; for the young Infanta, whom the King of Spain was to have married, as had been agreed, died a few days before his arrival.

While this negotiation with Portugal was carried on, the Duke of Savoy began to fee his own danger, if the two Crowns should come to be united; and he faw, that if the King of France drove the Imperialists out of Italy, and became master of the Milaneze, he must lie exposed, and at mercy: He had married his two daughters to the Duke of Burgundy, and to King Philip of Spain; but as he wrote to the Emperor, he was The Duke now to take care of himself and his son: His alliance with France was only for one year, which he had renewed from year to year, so he offered, at the end of the year, to enter into the great alliance; and he demanded for his share, the Novarize and the Montferrat. His leaving the Allies, as he had done in the former war, shewed that he maintained the character of his family, of changing fides, as often as he could expect better terms, by a new turn: yet his interest, lay so visibly now on the fide of the Alliance, that it was very reasonable to believe, he was refolved to adhere firmly to it. So

of Savoy came into the alliance.

1703.

So when the demands he made were laid before the Court of Vienna, and from thence transmitted to England and Holland, all the affiftance, that he proposed, was promised him: The Court of Vienna had no money to spare, but England and the States were to pay him twenty thousand pounds a month, of which England was to pay him two thirds, and the States the rest.

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Since I am to relate the rest of this transaction, The secret I must look back, and give some account of his reasons of his former departing from the alliance in the former war, departure which I had from Monsieur Herval, who was then from it. the King's Envoy in Switzerland, a French refugee, but originally of a German family of Augsbourg, settled but lately in France. In January 1696, when the plot for affaffinating the King and invading the nation, was thought fo furely laid, that it could not miscarry; the King of France sent Mr. Chanley very fecretly to the Duke of Savoy, with a full credence to the propositions he was to make, demanding a positive answer within six hours: with that the Duke of Orleans wrote very warmly to him; he faid, he had imployed all his interest with the King his brother, to get these offers made to him, which he conjur'd him to accept of, otherwife he must look for utter ruin, without remedy or recovery. Chanley told him, that at that prefent time, he was to reckon that King James was repossessed of the throne of England, and that the Prince of Orange was either dead, or in his hands: to he offered to restore Cazal and Pigneroll, and all that was afterwards agreed to by the treaty, if he would depart from the alliance. The Duke of Savoy being thus alarmed with a revolution in England, and being so straitned in time, thought the extreme necessity, to which he would be reduced, in cale that was true, must justify his submitting, when otherwise his ruin was unavoidable. The worst part of this was, that he got leave to pretend to continue in the alliance, till he had drawn

1703. drawn all the supplies, he was to expect for that year from England and the States, and then the whole matter was owned, as has been related in the Transactions of that year. I leave this upon the credit of him from whom I had it, who affured me he was well informed concerning it.

The French discover his intenmake all with them prisoners of war.

The Duke of Savoy, having now fecretly agreed to enter into the alliance, did not declare it, but continued still denying it to the French, that so tions, and when the Duke of Vendome fent back his troops to him, at the end of the campaign, he might more his troops fafely own it. The French had reason to suspect a fecret negotiation, but could not penetrate into it, so they took an effectual, though a very fraudulent method to discover it, which was told me soon after by the Earl of Pembroke. They got the Elector of Bavaria to write to him, with all feeming fincerity, and with great fecrecy, for he fent it to him by a subject of his own, so well disguised and directed, that the Duke of Savoy was imposed on by this management: In this letter, the Elector complained bitterly of the infolence and perfidiousness of the French, into whose hands he had put himself: He said, he saw his error now, when it was too late to fee how he could correct it; yet if the Duke of Savoy, who was almost in as bad a state as himself, would join with him, so that they might act by concert, they might yet not only recover themselves, but procure a happy peace for all the rest of Europe. The Duke of Savoy, mistrusting nothing, wrote him a frank answer, in which he owned his own defigns, and encouraged the Elector to go on, and offered all offices of friendship on his behalf, with the rest of the Allies. The French, who knew by what ways the Savoyard was to return, feized him, without fo much as acquainting the Elector with the discovery, that they had made: they faw now into this fecret; fo when the time came, in which the Duke of Vendome ought to have fent back his troops to him, they were made priprisoners of war, contrary to all treaties: and with 1703. this the war began in those parts. It was much apprehended that, confidering the weak and naked Count flate in which the Duke of Savoy then was, the Staremberg join-French would have quickly maftered him; but ed him. Count Staremberg ventured on a march, which military men faid was the best laid, and the best executed of any in the whole war: He marched from the Modenese, in the worst season of the year, thro ways that, by reason of the rains that had fallen, feemed impracticable, having in many places the French both before and behind him: He broke thro' all, and in conclusion joined the Duke of Savoy, with a good body of horfe. By this, he was render'd fafe in Piedmont: It is true the French made themselves quickly masters of all Savoy, except Montmelian; where some small Actions happen'd, much to the Duke's advantage. The Switzers interposed, to obtain a Neutrality for Savoy,

though without effect.

The Rifing in the Cevennes had not been yet The Infubdued, though Mareschal Montravel was sent surrection with an army to reduce or destroy them : He com- in the mitted great barbarities, not only on those he found Cevennes. in arms, but on whole villages, because they, as he was informed, favoured them: They came often down out of their hills in parties, ravaging the country, and they engaged the King's troops with much refolution, and fometimes with great advantage: They feemed resolved to accept of nothing less, than the restoring their edicts to them; for a connivance at their own way of Worship was offered them: They had many among them, who feemed qualified in a very fingular manner, to be the Teachers of the rest; they had a great measure of zeal without any learning; they scarce had any education at all; I fpoke with the person who, by the Queen's order, fent one among them to know the state of their affairs; I read some of the letters,

which he brought from them, full of a fublime

1703. zeal and piety, expressing a courage and confidence that could not be daunted: One instance of this was, that they all agreed, that if any of them was fo wounded, in an engagement with the enemy, that he could not be brought off, he should be shot dead, rather than be left alive to fall into the enemies hands; it was not possible then to form a judgment of that infurrection, the reports about it were fo various and uncertain, it being as much magnified by fome, as it was undervalued by others: The whole number, that they could reckon on, was four thousand men, but they had not arms and clothes for half that number, so they used these by turns, while the rest were left at home, to follow their labour: They put the country all about them in a great fright, and to a vast expence; while no intelligence could be had of their defigns, and they broke out in fo many different places, that all who lay within their reach were in a perpetual agitation: It was a lamentable thing, that they lay fo far within the country, that it was not possible to fend supplies to them, unless the Duke of Savoy should be in a condition to break into Dauphiny; and therefore advices were fent them, to accept of fuch terms as could be had, and to referve themfelves for better times.

The affairs of Poland. In Poland the scene was more embroiled than ever; there was some appearance of Peace this summer, but it went off in winter: The old sierce Cardinal drew a Diet to Warsaw; there it was declared, that their King had broken all their laws: upon that they, by a formal sentence, deposed him, and declared the Throne vacant. This was done in concert with the King of Sweden, who lay with his army at some distance from them, in the neighbourhood of Dantzick, which alarmed the citizens very much: It was believed, that they designed to choose Sobieski, the eldest son of the late King, who then lived at Breslaw in Silesia, and being in the Emperor's Dominions, he thought himself safer

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than he proved to be; the King of Poland retired 1703. into Saxony in some hafte, which made many conclude, that he resolved to abandon Poland; but he laid another defign, which was executed to his mind, tho' in the fequel it proved not much to his advantage; Sobieski and his brother were in a correspondence with the party in Poland, that opposed the King, upon which they ought to have looked to their own fecurity with more precaution: They, it feems, apprehended nothing where they then were, and so diverted themselves at hunting, and otherwise in their usual manner; upon this some, fent by the King of Poland, took them both prifoners, and brought them to Dresden, where they were fafely kept; and all the remonstrances that the Emperor could make, upon fuch an act of hoftility, had no effect. This for a while broke their measures at Warsaw; many forsook them, while the King of Sweden feemed implacable in his oppofition to Augustus; whose chief confidence was in the Czar: It was suspected, that the French had a management in this matter; fince it was certain that, by the war in Poland, a great part of that force was diverted, which might otherwise have been engaged in the common cause of the great alliance. All the advices that we had from thence agreed in this, that the King of Sweden himfelf was in no understanding with the French, but it was visible, that what he did, contributed not a little to serve their ends. This was the state of affairs at land.

I turn next to another element; and to give an Affairs account of the operations at sea, where things were at sea, ill designed, and worse executed: The making Prince George our Lord High Admiral, proved in many instances very unhappy to the nation: Men of bad designs imposed on him, he understood those matters very little, and they shelter'd themselves under his name, to which a great submission was paid; but the complaints rose the higher for Vol. IV.

1703. that: Our main fleet was ready to go out in May, but the Dutch fleet was not yet come over; fo Rook was fent out, to alarm the coast of France; he linger'd long in port, pretending ill health; upon that Churchill was fent to command the fleet; but Rook's health returned happily for him, or he thought fit to lay aside that pretence, and went to fea, where he continued a month; but in fuch a station, as if his design had been to keep far from meeting the French fleet, which failed out at that time; and to do the enemy no harm, not so much as to difturb their quiet, by coming near their coast: at last he returned, without having attempted any thing.

'A fleet fent into the Medi-

It was after this refolved, to fend a strong fleet into the Mediterranean: It was near the end of terranean. June, before they were ready to fail, and they had orders to come out of the Streights, by the end of September: Every thing was fo ill laid in this expedition, as if it had been intended, that nothing should be done by it, besides the convoying our merchant ships; which did not require the fourth part of such a force. Shovel was fent to command; when he faw his instructions, he represented to the ministry, that nothing could be expected from this voyage: He was ordered to go, and he obeyed his orders: He got to Leghorn by the beginning of September. His arrival feemed to be of great consequence, and the Allies began to take courage from it; but they were foon disappointed of their hopes, when they understood, that by his orders he could only ftay a few days there: Nor was it easy to imagine, what the design of so great an expedition could be, or why fo much money was thrown away on fuch a project, which made us despised by our enemies, while it provoked our friends; who might justly think, they could not depend upon fuch an ally, who managed fo great a force with fo poor a conduct, as neither to hurt their enemies, nor protect their friends by it.

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A fquadron was fent to the West-Indies, com- 1202. manded by Graydon; a man brutal in his way, and not well affected to the present state of affairs: Another The design was, to gather all the forces that we West-Inhad, scattered up and down the plantations, and dies. with that strength to go and take Placentia, and so to drive the French out of the Newfoundland trade: but the fecret of this was fo ill kept, that it was commonly talked of, before he failed: The French had timely notice of it, and fent a greater force to defend the place, than he could bring together to attack it. His orders were preffing, in particular, that he should not go out of his way, to pursue any of the enemy's ships, whom he might see: These he observed so punctually, that when he saw a squadron of four French men of war failing towards Breft, that were visibly foul, and in no condition to make any refistance, he fent indeed one of his ships to view them, who engaged them, but Graydon gave the fignal to call him off, upon which they got fafe into Brest. This was afterwards known to be Du Caffe's fquadron, who was bringing treasure home from Cartagena, and other ports of the West-Indies, reported to be four millions of pieces of eight: But tho' here was a good prey lofts yet to careful was the Prince's council to excufe every thing, done by fuch a man, that they ordered an advertisement to be put in the Gazette, to justify Graydon; in which it was faid, that purfuant to his orders, he had not engaged that fleet. They re-The orders were indeed strangely given, yet our turned Admirals had never thought themselves so bound fuccess, down to them, but that, upon great occasions, they might make stretches; especially where the advantage was visible, as it was in this case: For fince they were out of the way of new orders, and new occasions might happen, which could not be known, when their orders were given, the nature of the service seemed to give them a greater liberty, than was fit to be allowed in the land service. When

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1702. he came to the plantations, he acted in fo favage a manner, as if he had been fent rather to terrify, than to protect them: When he had drawn the forces together, that were in the plantations, he went to attack Placentia: But he found it to be for well defended, that he did not think fit so much as to make any attempt upon it: So this expedition ended very ingloriously, and many complaints of Graydon's conduct were fent after him.

Our fleets There was also a great complaint thro' the whole fleet of their victualling; we loft many of our feavictualled men, who, as was faid, were poisoned by ill food; and tho' great complaints were made of the victuallers, before the fleet went out, yet there was not fuch care taken to look into it, as a matter of that consequence deserved: The merchants did also complain, that they were ill ferved with convoys, and fo little care had been taken of the Newcastle fleet, that the price of coals rose very high: It was also faid, that there was not a due care had of our feamen, that were taken by the privateers, many of them died by reason of their ill usage, while others, to deliver themselves from that, went into the French fervice. Thus all our marine affairs were much out of order, and these disorders were charged on those, who had the conduct of them; every thing was unprosperous, and that will always be laid heavily on those, who are in the management of affairs: It is certain that, in the beginning of this reign, all those who hated the late King and his Government, or had been dismissed the service by him, were fought out, and invited into imployments: So it was not to be expected, that they could be faithful or cordial in the war against

The affairs of Scotland.

The affairs of Scotland come next to be related: A new Parliament was called, and many were chosen to serve in it, who were believed to be in secret engagements with the court at St. Germains: The Lords, who had hitherto kept out of Parliament,

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and were known to be Jacobites, came and qua- 1703. lified themselves, by taking the oaths, to yote in Parliament: It was fet up for a maxim, by the new Ministry, that all the Jacobites were to be invited home: So a proclamation was iffued out, of a very great extent, indemnifying all persons, for all treafons committed before April last; without any limitation of time for their coming home, to accept of this grace, and without demanding any fecurity of them for the future. The Duke of Queensbury was fent down the Queen's commissioner to the Parliament: This inflamed all those who had formerly opposed him: They resolved to oppose him still in every thing, and the greater part of the Jacobites joined with them, but some of them were bought off, as was faid, by him: He, feeing fo strong an opposition formed against him, studied to engage the Presbyterian party to stick to him: And even the party that united against him, were so apprehensive of the strength of that interest, that they likewise studied to court them, and were very careful not to give them any umbrage. By this, all the hopes of the episcopal party were lost; and every thing relating to the church did not only continue in the same state, in which it was during the former reign, but the Presbyterians got a new law Presbytery in their favour, which gave them as firm a fettle was conment, and as full a fecurity, as law could give; for an act passed, not only confirming the claim of rights, upon which the crown had been offered to the late King, one of its articles being against prelacy, and for a parity in the church, but it was declared high treason to endeavour any alteration of it. It had been often proposed to the late King. to pass this into an act, but he would never consent to it: He faid, he had taken the Crown on the terms in that claim, and that therefore he would never make a breach on any part of it; but he would not bind his fucceffors, by making it a perpetual law. Thus a ministry, that carried all mat-

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Debates concerning the fuccession to the crown.

Prefbytery

ters relating to the church to fo great a heighth; yet, with other views, gave a fatal stroke to the episcopal interest in Scotland, to which the late King would never give way. The great debates in this fession were concerning the succession of the crown, in case the Queen should die without issue. They resolved to give the preference to that debate, before they would confider the supplies; it was foon resolved that the successor to the crown after the Queen, should not be the same person that was King or Queen of England, unless the just rights of the nation should be declared in parliament, and fully fertled in an independence upon English interests and councils. After this, they went to name particulars, which by some were carried so far, that those expedients were indeed the fetting up a commonwealth, with the empty name of a King: For it was proposed, that the whole administration should be committed to a council, named by parliament, and that the legislature should be entirely in the parliament, by which no shadow of power was left with the crown, and it was merely a nominal thing! But the further entring upon expedients was laid afide for that time, only one act passed, that went a great way towards them: It was declared, that no fucceeding King Thould have the -non east power to engage the nation in a war, without confent of parliament. Another act of a strange nature past; allowing the importation of French goods, which, as was pretended, were to be imported, in the thips of a neutral state. The truth was, the revenue was fo exhaulted, that they had not enough to support the government, without fuch help: Those who desired to drink good wine, and all who were concerned in trade, ran into it; fo it was carried, though with great opposition: The Jacobites also went into it, since it opened a free correspondence with France: It was certainly against the publick interest of the government, in opposition to which private interest will often prevail.

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vail. The court of St. Germains, perceiving fuch 1703. a disjointing in Scotland, and fo great an opposition made in parliament, was from thence encouraged to fet all their emissaries in that kingdom at work, to engage both the chief of the nobility, and the feveral tribes in the Highlands, to be ready to appear for them. One Frazier had gone through the Highlands the former year, and from thence he went to France, where he pretended, he had authority from the Highlanders, to undertake to bring together a body of 12,000 men, if they might be affifted by some force, together with officers, arms, ammunition, and money from France. After he had delivered this message to the Queen at St. Germains, the recommended him to the French ministers; fo he had some audiences of them. He proposed that 5000 men should be sent Practices from Dunkirk, to land near Dundee, with arms from for 20000 men; and that 500 should be sent from Breft, to seize on Fort William, which commanded the great pass in the Highlands. The French hearkened to all this, but would not venture much upon flight grounds, so they fent him back with fome others, in whom they confided more, to fee how much they might depend on, and what the strength of the Highlanders was: They were also ordered, to try whether any of the great nobility of that kingdom would engage in the defign.

When these came over, Frazier got himself se- A discocretly introduced to the Duke of Queensbury, to very made whom he discovered all that had been already trans- of these. acted: And he undertook to discover the whole correspondence, between St. Germains and the Jacobites: He also named many of the Lords, who opposed him most in Parliament, and said, they were already deeply engaged. The Duke of Queenfbury hearkened very willingly to all this, and he gave him a pass to go thro' the Highlands again, where he found fome were still very forward, but others were more referved. At his return, he re-

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folved to go back to France, and promised to make a more entire discovery: He put one letter in the Duke of Queensbury's hands, from the Queen at St. Germains, directed on the back (but by another hand) to the Marquis of Athol: The letter was writ, in fuch general terms, that it might have been directed to any of the great nobility: And probably he, who was trusted with it, had power given him to direct it to any, to whom he found it would be most acceptable: For there was nothing in the letter, that was particular to any one person or family; it only mentioned the promises and asfurances fent to her by that Lord. This Frazier had been accused of a rape, committed on a sister of the Lord Athol's, for which he was convicted and outlawed: So it might be supposed, that he, to be revenged of the Lord Athol, who had profecuted him for that crime, might put his name on the back of that letter. It is certain, that the others who were more trufted, and were fent over with him, avoided his company, fo that he was not made acquainted with that proceeding. Frazier came up to London in winter, and had some meetings with the practifing Jacobites about the town, to whom he discovered his negotiation: He continued still to persuade the Duke of Queensbury of his fidelity to him: His name was not told the Queen, for when the Duke of Queensbury wrote to her an account of the discovery, he added, that unless she commanded it, he had promised not to name the person, for he was to go back to St. Germains, to compleat the discovery. The Queen did not ask his name, but had more regard to what he faid, because in the main it agreed with the intelligence, that her ministers had from their spies at Paris. The Duke of Queensbury procured a pass for him to go to Holland, but by another name: For he opened no part of this matter to the Earl of Nottingham, who gave the pass. The Jacobites in London sufpected Frazier's correspondence with the Duke of Queenired

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Queenfoury, and gave advertisement to the Lord 1703. Athol, and by this means the whole matter broke out, as shall be told afterwards. What influence foever this, or any other practice might have in Scotland, it is certain the opposition in Parliament grew still greater; and fince the Duke of Queenfbury would not fuffer them to proceed, in those strange limitations upon the Crown, that had been proposed, though the Queen ordered him to pass the other bills, they would give no supply; so that the pay of the army, with the charge of the government, was to run upon credit, and by this means matters there were like to come to extremities. A national humour of rendring themselves a free and independent kingdom did so inflame them, that as they had a majority of feventy in parliament; they feemed capable of the most extravagant things, that could be fuggefted to them: The greatest part of the ministry torsook the Duke of Queensbury in Parliament; both the Earl of Seafield, Lord Chancellor, the Marquis of Athol, the Lord Privy-Seal, and Lord Tarbet, the Secretary of State, with all that depended on them, broke off from him: Yet upon the conclusion of the Session, Athol was made a Duke, and Tarbet was made Earl of Cromarty, which looked like rewarding them for their opposition. Soon after that, the Queen resolved to revive the Order of the Thiftle, that had been raised by her father, but was let fall by the late King: It was to be carried in a green ribbon, as the George is in a blue, and the Glory was in the form of a St. Andrew's cross, with a thiftle in the middle. Argyle, Athol, Annandale, Orkney, and Seafield were the first that had it, the number being limited to twelve. And to fuch a heighth did the diforders in that kingdom rife, that great skill and much secret practice Reflecfeemed necessary to fet matters right there: The tions on aversion and jealousy towards those, who had been the conmost active in the last reign, and the favour shewed affairs

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1703.

to those, who were in King James's interests, had an appearance of bringing matters out of an excess, to a temper: And it was much magnified by those, who intended to flatter the Queen, on design to ruin her. Tho' the fame measures were taken in England, yet there was less danger in following them here than there: Errors might be fooner obferved, and easier corrected, where persons are in view, and are watched in all their motions; but this might prove fatal at a greater distance, where it was more easy to deny or palliate things, with great affurance. The Duke of Queenfbury's engroffing all things to himself, increased the disgust. at the credit he was in: He had begun a practice of drawing out the Sessions of Parliament to an unufual length; by which his appointments exhausted so much of the revenue, that the rest of the ministers were not paid, and that will always create discontent: He trusted entirely to a few persons. and his conduct was liable to just exceptions: Some of those, who had the greatest credit with him, were believed to be engaged in a foreign interest, and his passing, or rather promoting the act, that opened a correspondence with France, was considered as a delign, to fettle a commerce there: And upon that, his fidelity or his capacity were much warding them for their opposition. Spanoishup

The affairs of Ireland.

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There were still high discontents in Ireland, occasioned by the behaviour of the trustees there. The Duke of Ormond was the better received. when he went to that government, because he came after the Earl of Rochester; till it appeared, that he was in all things governed by him; and that he purfued the measures which he had begun to take. of raising new divisions in that kingdom: For, before that time, the only division in Ireland was. that of English and Irish, Protestants and Papists: But of late an animofity came to be raifed there, like that we labour under in England, between Whig and Tory. The wifer fort of the English resolved to

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oppose this all they could, and to proceed with 1703. temper and moderation: The Parliament there was opened with speeches and addresses, that carried the compliments to the Duke of Ormond fo far, as if no other person besides himself could have given them that fettlement, which they expected from his government. The truftees had raifed a scandal upon that nation, as if they designed to fet up an independence upon England: fo they began the fession with a vote, disclaiming that as false and injurious. They expressed on all occasions their hatred of the trustees and of their proceedings, yet they would not prefume to meddle with any thing they had done, purfuant to the act, that had passed in England, which vested the trust in them. They offered the necessary supplies, but took exceptions to the accounts, that were laid before them, and observed some errors in them. This begat an uneafines in the Duke of Ormond; for tho he was generous, and above all fordid practices, yet being a man of pleafure, he was much in the power of those, who acted under him, and whose integrity was not fo clear. One great defign of the wifer among them was, to break the power of popery, and the interest, that the heads of the Irish families had among them : They enacted the fuc. An act cession of the crown, to follow the pattern fet them passed by England, in every particular . They also passed there aan act concerning Papifts, somewhat like that which pery. had passed in England three years before; but with fome more effectual clauses, for the want of which, we have not yet had any fruit from our act: The main difference was that, which made it look less invidious, and yet was more effectual, for breaking the dependence on the heads of families: For it was provided, that all estates should be equally divided among the children of Papifts, notwithstanding any lettlements to the contrary, unless the persons, on whom they were fettled, qualified themselves by taking the oaths, and coming to the communion

of the church : This feemed to carry no hardship to the family in general, and yet gave hopes of weakning that interest so considerably, that the bill was offered to the Duke of Ormond, preffing him, with more than usual vehemence, to intercede so effectually, that it might be returned back under the great feal of England. They understood, that the Papifts of Ireland had raised a considerable sum, to be fent over to England, to support their practices, in order to the stopping this bill. It came over, warmly recommended by the Duke of Ormond: But it was as warmly opposed by those, who had a mind to have a share in the presents, that were ready to be made. The pretence for oppoling it was, that while the Queen was so deeply engaged with the Emperor, and was interceding for favour to the Protestants in his dominions; it feemed not feafonable, and was scarce decent to pass so severe a law against those of his religion: Tho' this had the less strength, fince it was very evident, that all the Irish Papists were in the French interest, so there was no reason to apprehend that the Emperor could be much concerned for them. The Parliament of England was fitting when this bill came over, and mens eyes were much fet on he of the iffue of it: So that the ministers judged it was not fafe to deny it: But a clause was added, which they hoped would hinder its being accepted in Ireland. That matter was carried on to fecretly, that it was known to none, but those who were at the council, till the news of it came from Ireland. upon its being fent thither: The clause was to this purpose, that none in Ireland should be capable of any employment, or of being in the magistracy in any city, who did not qualify themselves by receiving the facrament, according to the test-act passed in England; which before this time had never been offered to the Irish nation. It was hoped by those, who got this clause to be added to the bill, that those in Ireland who promoted it most, would now

now be the less fond of it, when it had such a 1703. weight hung to it: The greatest part of Ulfter was possessed by the Scotch, who adhered stiffly to their first education in Scotland: And they were to united in that way, that it was believed they could not find fuch a number of men, who would qualify themselves, as was necessary by this clause, to maintain the order and justice of the country. Yet upon this occasion the Irish parliament proceeded with great caution and wisdom: They reckoned that this act, fo far as it related to Papists, would have a certain and great effect, for their common fecurity: And that when it was once paffed, it would never be repealed: Whereas if great inconveniencies did arife upon this new claufe, it would be an easier thing to obtain a repeal of it, in a subfequent parliament, either of England or Ireland. So the act was passed, and those who thought they had managed the matter with a master-piece of cunning, were outwitted by an Irish parliament. However this artifice, and fome other things in the Duke of Ormond's conduct, put them into fuch an ill humour, that the fupply bill was clogged and leffened by many clauses added to it. The fession ended in so much heat, that it was thought that parliament would meet no more, if the Duke of Ormond was continued in the government.

Thus the parts of the government that were Jealousies thought the most easily managed, Scotland and of the Ireland, had of late been put into fo much dif-ministry. order, that it might prove no eafy work to fet them again in order: The government was every where going, as it were, out of joint: Its nerves and strength seemed to be much slackened: The trusting and imploying, not only violent Tories, but even known Jacobites, as it brought a weakness on the management, so it raised a jealousy, that could not be eafily cured. Stories were confidently vented, and by some easily believed, that the Queen was convinced of the wrong done her pretended bro-

1703.

ther, and that she was willing to put affairs in the hands of persons, who favoured his succession: It was also observed, that our court kept too cold civilities with the House of Hanover, and did nothing that was tender or cordial looking that way: Nor were any imployed, who had expressed a parcicular zeal for their interests. These things gave great jealoufy: All that was faid in excuse for trusting fuch persons, was, that it was fit once to try if good usage could soften them, and bring them entirely into the Queen's interests: And affurances were given, that, if upon a trial, the effect hoped for did not follow, they should be again dismissed.

This was the state of our affairs when a new seffion of parliament was opened in November: The Queen, in her speech expressed a great zeal, for carrying on the war, and with relation to the affairs of Europe: She recommended union and good agreement to all her people; she faid she wanted words to express, how earnestly she defired this. This was understood, as an intimation of her defire, that there should be no further proceedings in the bill against occasional conformity: Addresses full of respect were made to the Queen, in return to her speech; and the Lords, in theirs, promised to avoid every thing, that should occasion dis-union or contention: But nothing could lay the heat of a party, which was wrought on by fome, who had defigns, that were to be denied or disguised, till a proper time for owning them should appear. A motion was made in the House of Commons, for bringing in the bill against occasional conformity: Great opposition was made to it; the court was against it, but it was carried by a great majority, that fuch a bill should be brought in. So a new draught was formeed: In it the preamble, that was in the former bill, was left out. The number besides the family, that made a conventicle, was enlarged from five to twelve: And the fine fet on those, who went to conventicles, after they had

A bill against occafional conformity.

received the facrament, befides the lofs of their em- 1703. ployment, was brought down to fifty pound: These were artifices, by which it was hoped, upon fuch foftnings, once to carry the bill on any terms: And when that point was gained, it would be easy afterwards to carry other bills of greater feverity. There was now fuch a division upon this matter, that it was fairly debated in the House of Commons: Whereas before, it went there with fuch a torrent, that no opposition to it could be hearkened to. Those who opposed the bill went chiefly upon this ground, that this bill put the diffenters in a worle condition than they were before: So it was a breach made upon the toleration, which ought not to be done, fince they had not delerved it by any ill behaviour of theirs, by which it could be pretended that they had forfeited any of the benefits, designed by that act: Things of this kind could have no effect, but to imbroil us with new distractions, and to disgust persons well affected to the Queen and her government: It was necessary to continue the happy quiet, that we were now in, especially in this time of war, in which even the feverest of persecutors made their stops, for fear of irritating ill humours too much. The old topicks of hypocrify, and of the danger the church was in, were brought up again on behalf of the bill, and the bill passed in the House of Commons by a great Passed by majority . And fo it was fent up to the Lords, the Comwhere it occasioned one debate of many hours, whether the bill should be entertained and read a second time, or be thrown out: The Prince appeared no more for it, nor did he come to the house upon this occasion: Some who had voted for it, in the former fession, kept out of the house, and others owned they saw farther into the design of the bill, and so voted against it. Upon a division But rejectit was carried, by a majority of twelve, not to give ed by the it a fecond reading, but to reject it. Lords. Queen and the France, the coldness that they ex-

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1703. The Bishops were almost equally divided: There were two more against it, than for it: Among these, I had the largest share of censure on me, because I spoke much against the bill: I knew how the act of test was carried, as has been already shewn in its proper place: I related that in the house, and the many practices of the Papists, of fetting us of the Church against the Dissenters, and the Diffenters against us by turns, as it might ferve their ends: I ventured to fay, that a man might lawfully communicate with a church, that he thought had a worship and a doctrine uncorrupted, and yet communicate more frequently with a church, that he thought more perfect: I myself had communicated with the churches of Geneva and Holland; and yet at the same time communicated with the church of England: So. tho' the Diffenters were in a mistake, as to their opinion, which was the more perfect church, yet allowing them a toleration in that error, this practice might be justified. I was defired to print what I faid upon that occasion, which drew many virulent pamphlets upon me, but I answered none of them: I faw the Jacobites defigned to raife fuch a flame among us, as might make it scarce possible to carry on the war; those who went not so deep, yet defigned to make a breach on the toleration by gaining this point: And I was refolved never to be filent, when that should be brought into debate : For I have long looked on liberty of conscience, as one of the rights of human nature, antecedent to fociety, which no man could give up, because it was not in his own power: And our Saviour's rule, of doing as we would be done by, feemed to be a very express decision to all men, who would lay the matter home to their own conscience, and judge as they would willingly be judged by others. The clergy over England, who were generally

The clergy out of inflamed with this matter, could hardly forgive the humour.

Queen and the Prince, the coldness that they ex-

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pressed on this occasion: The Lord Godolphin did fo positively declare, that he thought the bill unfeafonable, and that he had done all he could, to hinder its being brought in, that tho' he voted to give the bill a fecond reading, that did not reconcile the party to him: They fet up the Earl of Rochefter, as the only man to be depended on, who deserved to be the chief Minister.

.The House of Commons gave all the supplies, The Comthat were necessary, for carrying on the war: Some mons vote tried to tack the bill against occasional conformity all the to the bill of supply, but they had not strength to supplies. carry it: The Commons shewed a very unusual neglect of all that related to the Fleet, which was wont to be one of their chief cares: It was furmized, that they faw, that if they opened that door, discoveries would be made of errors that could neither be justified nor palliated, and that these must come home chiefly to their greatest favourites; fo they avoided all examinations, that would probably draw fome cenfure on them.

The Lords were not fo tender: They found Enquiries great fault with the counfels, chiefly with the fend- into the ing Shovell to the Mediterranean, and Graydon to conduct of the West-Indies: And laid all the discoveries, that were made to them, with their own observations on them, before the Queen, in addresses that were very plain, tho' full of all due respect: They went on likewife, in their examinations of the outcry made of the waste of the publick treasure in the last reign; they examined the Earl of Orford's accounts, which amounted to seventeen millions, and upon which some observations had been made by the commissioners, for examining the publick accounts; they found them all to be false in fact, or ill grounded, and of no importance.

The only particular, that seemed to give a just The Earl colour to exception, was very strictly examined: of Orford's ac-He had victualled the fleet, while they lay all win-counts ter at Cadiz: The purfers receipts for the quantity, justified.

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1703:

that was laid into every ship, were produced, but they had no receipts of the Spaniards, from whom they had bought the provisions; but they had entred the prices of them in their own books, and these were given in upon oath. This matter had been much canvassed in the late King's time, and it stood thus: Russel, now Earl of Orford, when he had been ordered to lie at Cadiz, wrote to the board of victualling, to fend one over to provide the fleet; they answered, that their credit was then sali lia fo low, that they could not undertake it: So he was defired to do it upon his own credit. It appeared, that no fleet nor fingle ship had ever been victualled fo cheap, as the fleet was then by him: It was not the custom in Spain to give receipts; but if any fraud had been intended, it would have been easy to have got the Spaniards, after they had their money, to have figned any receipts, that could have been offered them, for swelling up the accounts; for the practices of swelling accounts, in their dealings with their own court, were well known there. Upon these reasons, the Lords of the treasury had passed his accounts, and were of to habitos opinion that he had done a great fervice to the gothe ficet. vernment, in that whole transaction. The House of Lords did now confirm this; and ordered an account of that whole matter to be printed.

The Commons made no progress in any discoveries of ill practices in the Earl of Ranelagh's office, but concluded that matter with an address to the Queen, that she would order a prosecution. This was an artifice to make the nation ftill think, that great discoveries of corruption might be made, if carefully looked after: It was expected, after fuch an outcry as they had made, and after the expence the nation was put to, for this commission, and the extraordinary powers that were lodged with the commissioners, that at least some important discoveries should have been made by them.

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A list a of intervention of variation to acted 1703;

The Commons sent up a bill to the Lords, for continuing the commission another year: It was A bill for observed that an alteration was made of the persons; ing the fome who expected better places, got their names publick to be left out. The Lords excepted to one Bierly, accounts who was named to be one of the commissioners; be- lost because he had been a Colonel, and had not yet tween the cleared the accounts of his own regiment : fo they Houses. struck out his name, and named another; and they added two more, who were not members of the House of Commons. The reason of this was, because the members of that House would not appear before them, to explain some particulars; they only fent their clerk, to inform them, and when the Lords fent a message to the House of Commons, to defire them to order their members to attend on their committee; all the return they had was, that they would fend an answer, by messengers of their own ! But this was illufory, for they fent no fuch message. So the Lords thought it necessary, in order to their being better informed, to put some in the commission for the future, who thould be bound to attend upon them, as oft as they should be called for. The Commons rejected these amendments; and pretended that this was of the nature of a money-bill, and that therefore the Lords could make no alterations in it. The meffage, that the Commons fent the Lords upon this head, came so near the end of the fession, that the Lords could not return an answer to it, with the reasons for which they insisted on their amendments; so that bill fell. with others

The charge of this commission amounted to eight thousand pounds a-year; the commissioners made much noise, and brought many persons before them to be examined, and gave great disturbance to all the publick offices, what by their attendance on them, what by copying out all their books for their perufal; and yet in a course of many years, they

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1704. had not made any one discovery: So a full stop was put to this way of proceeding.

A dispute concerning injuselections of members of parlia-0vi ment.

An incident happened during this fession, which may have great confequences, tho' in itself it might tice in the feem inconsiderable: There have been great complaints long made, and these have increased much within these few years, of great partiality and injustice in the elections of parliament-men, both by sheriffs in counties, and by the returning officers in boroughs. In Aylefbury, the return was made by four constables, and it was believed, that they made a bargain with some of the candidates, and then managed the matter, fo as to be fure, that the majority should be for the person, to whom they had engaged themselves; they canvassed about the town, to know how the voters were fet, and they refolved to find fome pretence for difabling those, who were engaged to vote for other persons than their friends, that they might be fure to have the majority in their own hands. And when this matter came to be examined by the House of Commons, they gave the election always for him who was reckoned of the party of the majority, in a manner fo barefaced, that they were scarce out of countenance, when they were charged for injustices in judging elections. It was not easy to find a remedy to fuch a crying abuse, of which all sides in their turns, as they happened to be depressed, had made great complaints; but when they came to be the majority, seemed to have forgot all, that they had formerly cried out on. Some few excufed this, on the topick of retaliation; they faid, they dealt with others as they had dealt with them, or their friends. At last an action was brought against the constables of Aylesbury, at the fuit of one, who had been always admitted to vote in former elections, but was denied it in the last election. This was tried at the Affizes, and it was found there by the jury, that the constables had denied him a right, of which he was undoubtedly

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in possession, so they were to be cast in Damages; 1704. but it was moved in the Queen's bench, to quash c all the proceedings in that matter, fince no action did lie or had ever been brought upon that account. Powel, Gould and Powis were of opinion, that no hurt was done the man; that the judging of elections belonged to the House of Commons; that as this action was the first of its kind, so if it was allowed, it would bring on an infinity of fuits, and put all the officers, concerned in that matter, upon great difficulties: Lord Chief Justice Holt, tho' alone, yet differed from the rest; he thought this was a matter of the greatest importance, both to the whole nation in general, and to every man in his own particular; he made a great difference betwen an election of a member, and a right to vote in fuch an election; the House of Commons were the only judges of the former, whether it was rightly managed or not, without bribery, fraud or violence; but the right of voting in an election, was an original right founded either on a freehold of forty shillings a-year in the county; or on burgageland, or upon a prescription, or by charter, in a borough: These were all legal Titles, and as fuch were triable in a court of law. Acts of Parliament were made concerning them, and by reason of these, every thing relating to those acts, was triable in a court of law; he spoke long and learnedly, and with some vehemence upon the subject; but he was one against three, fo the order of the court went, in favour of the constables. The matter was upon that brought before the House of Lords, by a writ of error; the case was very fully argued at the bar, and the judges were ordered to deliver their opinions upon it, which they did very copiously.

Chief Justice Trevor insisted much, on the authority that the House of Commons had, to judge of all those elections; from that he inserred, that they only could judge who were the electors;

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petitions were often grounded on this, that in the poll some were admitted to a vote, who had no right to it, and that others were denied it, who had a right; so that in some cases they were the proper judges of this right: and if they had it in some cases, they must have it in all. From this he inferred, that every thing relating to this matter was triable by them, and by them only; if two independent jurisdictions might have the same case brought before them, they might give contrary judgments in it; and this must breed great distraction, in the execution of those judgments.

To all this it was answered, that a single man, who was wronged in this matter, had no other remedy but by bringing it into a Court of Law; for the House of Commons could not examine the right of every voter; if the man, for whom he would have voted, was returned, he could not be heard to complain to the House of Commons, tho? in his own particular he was denied a vote, fince he could not make any exceptions to the return; fo he must bear his wrong, without a remedy, if he could not bring it into a Court of Law. A right of voting in an election was the greatest of all the rights of an Englishman, fince by that he was represented in Parliament; the House of Commons could give no relief to a man wronged in this, nor any damages; they could only fet afide one, and admit of another return; but this was no redress to him, that suffered the wrong; it made him to be the less considered in his borough, and that might be a real damge to him in his trade: fince this was a right inherent in a man, it seemed reasonable that it should be brought, where all other rights were tried, into a Court of Law; the abuse was new, and was daily growing, and it was already swelled to a great heighth; when new disorders happen, new actions must lie, otherwise there is a failure in justice, which all laws abhor; practices of this fort were enormous and crying; and

and if the judgment in the Queen's bench was af- 1704. firmed, it would very much encrease these disorders, by this indemnity, that feemed to be given to the

officers, who took the poll.

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After a long debate it was carried by a great ma- The Lords jority to fet aside the order in the Queen's bench, and judge that to give judgment according to the verdict given the right at the affizes. This gave great offence to the House was triable of Commons, who passed very high votes upon it, at law. against the man of Aylesbury, as guilty of a breach of their privileges, and against all others who should for the future bring any such suits into courts of law; and likewise against all Council, Attorneys and others, who should affist in any fuch fuits; and they affirmed, that the whole matter relating to elections belonged only to them: yet they did not think fit to fend for the man, who had fued, or rather in whose name the fuit was carried on; fo they let the matter as to him fall, under a flew of moderation and pity, and let it rest upon those general votes. The Lords on their part ordered the whole state of the case to be drawn up and printed, which was done with much learning and judgment; they also afferted the right, that all the people of England had, to feek for justice in courts of law, upon all fuch occasions; and that the House of Commons, by their votes, struck at the liberties of the people, at the law of England, and at the judicature of the House of Lords; and they ordered the Lord Keeper to fend a copy of the case, and of their votes to all the sheriffs of England, to be communicated to all the boroughs in their counties. The House of Commons was much provoked with this, but they could not hinder it; the thing was popular, and the Lords got great credit, by the judgment they gave, which let the people of England fee, how they might be redressed for the future, if they should meet with the injustice, partiality and other ill practices, that had appeared of late in elections, even

1704. even beyond the examples of former times. This may prove a restraint on the officers, now that they fee they are liable to be fued, and that a vote of the House of Commons cannot cover them.

clergy.

The During the fession and on her own birth-day, Queen which was the fixth of February, the Queen fent gave the a meffage to the House of Commons, signifying her first-fruits purpose, to apply that branch of the revenue, that for the be- was raised out of the first-fruits and tenths, payed nefit of the by the clergy, to the encrease of all the small benefices in the nation: This branch was an impolition, begun by the Popes, in the time of the holy wars, and it was raifed as a fund to support those expeditions: But when taxes are once raised by fuch an arbitrary power, as the Popes then affumed, and after there has been a submission, and the payments have been fettled into a custom, they are always continued, even after the pretence, upon which they were at first raised, subsists no more: So this became a standing branch of the papal revenue, 'till Henry the eighth feemed resolved to take it away: It was first abolished for a year, probably to draw in the clergy, to confent the more willingly to a change, that delivered them from fuch heavy impositions: But in the succeeding selfion of Parliament, this revenue was again fettled as part of the income of the crown for ever. It is true, it was the more easily born, because the rates were still at the old value, which in some places was not the tenth, and in most not above the fifth part of the true value: And the clergy had been often threatned with a new valuation, in which the rates should be rigorously set to their full extent.

The tenths amounted to about 11000 l. a-year, and the first-fruits, which were more casual, role one year with another, to 5000 l. fo the whole amounted to between fixteen and seventeen thoufand pounds a year: This was not brought into the treasury, as the other branches of the revenue; but the Bishops, who had been the Pope's collectors,

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were now the King's, so persons in favour obtained assignations on them, for life or for a term of years:

This had never been applied to any good use, but was still obtained by favourites, for themselves and their friends: And in King Charles the second's time, it went chiefly among his women and his natural children. It seemed strange, that while the Clergy had much credit at court, they had never represented this as sacrilege, unless it was applied to some religious purpose, and that during Archbishop Laud's savour with King Charles the first, or at the restauration of King Charles the second, no endeavours had been used to appropriate this to better uses: Sacrilege was charged on other things, on very slight grounds; but this, which

was more visible, was always forgot.

When I wrote the history of the reformation, I confidered this matter fo particularly, that I faw here was a proper fund, for providing better fubfiftence to the poor Clergy; we having among us fome hundreds of cures, that have not of certain provision twenty pounds a-year; and some thoufands, that have not fifty: Where the encouragement is fo small, what can it be expected, Clergymen should be? It it a crying scandal, that at the restauration of King Charles the second, the bishops and other dignitaries, who raifed much above a million in fines, yet did so little this way: I had possessed the late Queen with this, so that she was fully refolved, if ever she had lived to see peace and fettlement, to have cleared this branch of the revenue, of all the affignations, that were upon it, and to have applied it to the augmentation of imall benefices. This is plainly infinuated, in the effay that I wrote on her memory, some time after her death. I laid the matter before the late King, when there was a prospect of peace, as a proper expresfion both of his thankfulness to Almighty God, and of his care of the Church; I hoped that this might have gained the hearts of the clergy: It might

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might at least have put a stop to a groundless clamour railed against him, that he was an enemy to the clergy, which began then to have a very ill effect on all his affairs. He entertained this so well, that he ordered me to speak to his ministers about it: They all approved it, the Lord Somers and the Lord Halisax did it, in a most particular manner: But the Earl of Sunderland obtained an affignation, upon two dioceses, for two thousand pound a-year for two lives; so nothing was to be hoped for after that. I laid this matter very fully before the present Queen, in the King's time, and had seeke after of it to the Lord Godolphin

spoke often of it to the Lord Godolphin.

This time was perhaps chosen, to pacify the angry clergy, who were diffatisfied with the court, and began now to talk of the danger the Church was in, as much as they had done during the former reign: This extraordinary mark of the Queen's piety and zeal for the Church, produced many addresses, full of compliments, but it has not yet had any great effect, in foftening the tempers of peevish men. When the Queen's message was brought to the House of Commons, some of the Whigs, particularly Sir John Holland and Sir Joseph Jekyll, moved that the clergy might be entirely freed from that tax, fince they bore as heavy a share of other taxes; and that another fund might be raifed of the same value, out of which fmall benefices might be augmented: But this was violently opposed by Musgrave, and other tories, who faid the clergy ought to be kept still in a dependence on the Crown.

Anacl paffed about it. Upon the Queen's message, a bill was brought in, enabling her to alienate this branch of the revenue, and to create a corporation by charter, to apply it to the use for which she now gave it: They added to this a repeal of the statute of Mortmain, so far as that it might be free to all men, either by deed or by their last wills, to give what they thought sit towards the augmenting of benefices:

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fices: It was suggested, how truly I cannot tell, 1704. that this addition was made in hope that it would be rejected by the Lords, and that the scandal of lofing the bill might lie on them. It occasioned a great debate in the House of Lords: It was faid, that this law was made and kept up even during the times of Popery, and it feemed not reasonable to open a door to practices upon dying men. It was answered, that we had not the arts of affrighting men by the terrors of purgatory, or by fables of apparitions: Where these were practised, it was very reasonable to restrain priests from those artifices by which they had fo enriched their Church, that without some such effectual checks they would have fwallowed up the whole wealth of the world, as they had indeed in England, during Popery, made themselves masters of a full third part of the nation. The Bishops were so zealous and unanimous for the bill, that it was carried and paffed into a law. The Queen was pleased to let it be known, that the first motion of this matter came from me: Such a project would have been much magnified at another time; and those, who had promoted it, would have been looked on as the truest friends of the Church: But this did not feem to make any great impression at that time; only it produced a Set of Addresses, from all the clergy of England, full of thanks and just acknowledgments.

I come now, in the last place, to give the re- A plot dislation of the discoveries made of a plot which took covered. up much of the Lords time, and gave occasion to many sharp reflections, that pass'd between the two Houses in their addresses to the Queen. About the same time that the story of Frazier's pass and negotiations began to break out, Sir John Macclean a Papist, and the head of that tribe or elan in the Highlands and western Isles of Scotland, came over from France in a little boat, and landed secretly at Folkston in Kent: He brought his

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lady with him, the fhe had been delivered of a child, but eleven days before. He was taken, and fent up to London; and it feemed, by all circumstances, that he came over upon some important defign: He pretended at first, that he came only to go thro' England and Scotland, to take the benefit of the Queen's general pardon there: But when he was told, that the pardon in Scotland was not a good warrant to come into England, and that it was hightreason to come from France, without a pass, he was not willing to expose himself to the severity of the law: So he was prevailed on to give an account of all that he knew, concerning the negotiations between France and Scotland. Some others were at the fame time taken up upon his information, and fome upon fuspicion: Among these there was one Keith, whose uncle was one of those, who was most trusted by the court of St. Germains, and whom they had fent over with Frazier, to bring them an account of the temper the Scotch were in, upon which they might depend. Keith had been long at that court, he had free access both to that Queen and Prince, and hoped they would have made him under fecretary for Scotland; for some time, he denied that he knew any thing, but afterwards he confessed he was made acquainted with Frazier's transactions, and he undertook to deal with his uncle to come and discover all he knew, and pretended there was no other defign among them, but to lay matters fo, that the Prince of Wales should reign after the Queen. Ferguson offered himself to make great discoveries: He said Frazier was imployed by the Duke of Queensbury, to decoy fome into a plot, which he had framed and intended to discover, as soon as he had drawn many into the guilt: He affirmed that there was no plot among the Jacobites, who were glad to fee one of the race of the Stuarts on the throne: And they defigned, when the state of the war might dispose the Queen to a treaty with France to get fuch terms given of a and

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her, as King Stephen and King Henry the Sixth 1704. had, to reign during her life. When I heard this, I could not but remember what the Duke of Athol had faid to myfelf, foon after the Queen's coming to the Crown: I faid, I hoped none in Scotland thought of the Prince of Wales: He answered, he knew none that thought of him as long as the Queen lived: I replied, that if any thought of him after that, I was fure the Queen would live no longer, than till they thought their defigns for him were well laid: But he feemed to have no apprehensions of that. I presently told the Queen this, without naming the person, and she answered me very quick, there was no manner of doubt of that: But tho' I could not but reflect often on that discourse, yet since it was said to me in confidence, I never spoke of it to any one person, during all the enquiry, that was now on foot: But I think it too material not to fet it down here. Ferguson was a man of a particular character: Upon the revolution he had a very good place given him, but his spirit was so turned to plotting, that within a few months after he turned about, and he has been ever fince the boldest and most active man of the Jacobite party: He pretended he was now for high church, but many believed him a Papist: There was matter of treaton tworn both against him and Keith, but there was only one witness to it.

At the same time Lindsey was taken up: he had been under-secretary first to the Earl of Melsort, and then to the Earl of Middletoun; he had carried over from France the letters and orders, that gave rise to the Earl of Dundee's breaking out, the year after the revolution; and he had been much trusted at St. Germains; he had a small estate in Scotland, and he pretended, that he took the benefit of the Queen's pardon, and had gone to Scotland to save that; and being secured by this pardon, he thought he might come from

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Scotland to England; but he could pretend no colour for his coming to England; fo it was not doubted, but that he came hither to manage their correspondence and intrigues. He pretended he knew of no designs against the Queen and her government; and that the Court of St. Germains, and the Earl of Middletoun in particular, had no dessign against the Queen; but when he was shewed Frazier's commission to be a colonel, signed by the pretended King, and countersigned Middletoun, he feemed amazed at it; he did not pretend it was a forgery, but he said that things of that kind were never communicated to him.

At the same time, that these were taken up, others were taken on the coast of Suffex; one of these, Boucher, was a chief officer in the Duke of Berwick's family, who was then going to Spain, but it was suspected that this was a blind to cover his going to Scotland; the House of Lords apprehended, that this man was fent on great deligns, and fuspecting a remissiness in the ministry, in looking after and examining those, who came from France, they made an address to the Queen, that Boucher might be well look'd to; they did also order Sir John Macclean to be brought before them; but the Queen fent them a meffage, that Macclean's business was then in a method of examination, and that she did not think fit to alter that, for fome time: But as for Boucher, and those who were taken with him, the Earl of Nottingham told the House, that they were brought up, and that they might do with them as they pleased; upon that the House sent back Macclean, and ordered the usher of the black rod to take the other prisoners into his custody, and they named a committee of feven Lords to examine them. At this time, the Queen came to the Parliament, and acquainted both Houses, that she had unquestionable proofs of a correspondence between France and Scotland, with which she would acquaint them, when The the examinations were taken.

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The Commons were in an ill humour against the Lords, and so they were glad to find occasions to vent it: They thought the Lords ought not to have Disputes entred upon this examination; they complained of between it as of a new and unheard-of thing, in an ad- Houses dress to the Queen; they said it was an invasion of in addresher prerogative, which they defired her to exert. fes to the This was a proceeding without a precedent; the Queen. parliamentary method was, when one house was offended with any thing done in the other, conferences were demanded, in which matters were freely debated; to begin an appeal to the throne was new, and might be managed, by an ill deligning Prince, fo as to end in the subversion of the whole constitution; and it was an amazing thing, to fee a House of Commons affirm, in so publick a manner and so politively, that the Lords taking criminals into their own custody, in order to an examination, was without warrant or precedent; when there were fo many instances, fresh in every man's memory, especially fince the time of the Popish plot, of precedents in both houses, that went much further; of which a full fearch has been made, and a long lift of them was read in the House of Lords. did not a little confound those among them, who were believed to be in a fecret correspondence with the House of Commons; they were forced to confess, that they saw the Lords had clear Precedents to justify them, in what they had done, of which they were in great doubt before.

The Lords upon this made a very long address to the Queen, in which they complained of the ill ulage they had met with from the House of Commons; they used none of those hard words, that were in the address made against them by the House of Commons, yet they justified every step they had taken, as founded on the law and practice of Parliament, and no way contrary to the duty and respect they owed the Queen: The behaviour of the House of Commons was such, on this occasion, as,

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if they had no mind that plots should be narrowly looked into; no House of Parliament, and indeed no Court of Judicature, did examine any person, without taking him into their own custody, during fuch examination; and if a person's being in custody must restrain a House of Parliament from examining him, here was a maxim laid down, by which bad ministers might cover themselves from any enquiry into their ill practices, only by taking the persons, who could make discoveries, into custody: The Lords also set forth the ill consequences that might follow, upon one House of Parliament carrying their complaints of another to the Throne, without taking first the proper method of conferences: This address was drawn with the utmost force, as well as beauty and decency of stile; and was reckoned one of the best pieces of its kind, that were in all the records of Parliament. The Queen, in her answer, expressed a great concern to see such a dispute, between the two Houses.

Boucher, when he was examined, would confels nothing; he faid, he was weary of living fo long out of his country, and that having made some attempt to obtain a pass, when that was denied him, he chose, rather than to live always abroad, to come and cast himself upon the Queen's mercy; it did not feem reasonable to believe this; so the Lords made an address to the Queen, that he might have no hopes of pardon, till he was more fincere in his discoveries; and they prayed that he might be profecuted on the statute: He confessed his crime, and was condemned, but continued still denying, that he knew any thing; few could believe this; yet there being no special matter laid against him, his case was to be pitied; he proved, that he had faved the lives of many prisoners, during the war of Ireland, and that during the war in Flanders, he had been very careful of all English prifoners: When all this was laid before the Lords, VIV

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ords, they they did not think fit to carry the matter farther, to he was reprieved, and that matter flept.

About the end of January, the Queen fent the examinations of the prisoners to the two Houses; the House of Commons heard them read, but passed no judgment upon them, not did they offer any advice to the Queen, upon this occasion; they only fent them back to the Queen, with thanks for communicating them, and for her wisdom and care of the nation: It was thought strange, to see a business of this nature treated so slightly, by a body that had looked, in former times, more carefully to things of this kind; especially since it had appeared, in many instances, how dextrous the French were in raising distractions in their enemies country: It was evident, that a negotiation was begun, and had been now carried on for some time, for an army that was to be fent from France to Scotland; upon this, which was the main of the discovery, it was very amazing to fee, that the Commons neither offered the Queen any advice, nor gave her a vote of credit, for any extraordinary expence, in which the progress of that matter might engage her; a credit so given might have had a great effect, towards defeating the delign, when it appeared how well the Queen was furnished to refift it: This coldness, in the House of Commons, gave great and just ground of suspicion, that those, who had the chief credit there, did not act heartily, in order to the defeating all fuch plots, but were willing to let them go on, without check or oppothe feven Lords went on wich their evan noisil

The Lords resolved to examine the whole matter TheLords narrowly; the Earl of Nottingham laid before ordered a them, an abstract of all the examinations, the coun-amination cil had taken; but fome took great exceptions to of all who it, as drawn on delign to make it appear more in-were fufconsiderable, than they believed it to be: The sub- peded to stance of the whole was, that there went many be in this messages between the Courts of St. Germains and VOL. IV.

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1704.

Verfailles, with relation to the affairs of Scotland: the Court of Verfailles was willing to fend an army to Scotland, but they defired to be well affured of the affiftance they might expect there; in order to which, fome were fent over, according to what Frazier had told the Duke of Queensbury; some of the papers were writ in gibberish, so the Lords moved that a reward should be offered, to any who should decypher these. When the Lords asked the Earl of Nottingham, if every thing was laid before them, he answered, that there was only one particular kept from them; because they were in hopes of a discovery, that was like to be of more confequence than all the rest: So after the delay of a few days, to fee the iffue of it, which was Keith's endeavouring to perfuade his uncle (who knew every ftep that had been made, in the whole progress of this affair) to come in and discover it, when they were told there was no more hope of that, the Lords ordered the committee, which had examined Boucher, to examine into all these discoveries. Upon this the Commons, who expressed a great uneasiness, at every step the Lords made in the matter, went with a new address to the Queen, insisting on their former complaints, against the proceedings of the Lords, as a wrefting the matter out of the Queen's hands, and the taking it wholly into their own; and they prayed the Queen to refume her prerogative, thus violated by the Lords, whole proceedings they affirmed to be without a precedent. ane on

The feven Lords went on with their examinations, and after fome days they made a report to the House; Macclean's confession was the main thing; it was full and particular; he named the persons that sate in the council at St. Germains; he said, the command was offered to the Duke of Berwick, which he declined to accept, till trial was made whether Duke Hamilton would accept of it; who he thought was the proper person; he told like-

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wife, what directions had been fent to hinder the 1704. fettling the fuccession in Scotland; none of which particulars were in the paper, that the Earl of Nottingham had brought to the house of his confession. It was farther observed, that all the rest, whose examinations amounted to little, were obliged to write their own confessions, or at least to sign them; But Macclean had not done this; for after he had delivered his confession by word of mouth to the Earl of Nottingham, that Lord wrote it all from his report, and read it to him the next day; upon which he acknowledged, it contained a full account of all he had faid. Macclean's discovery to the Lords was a clear feries of all the counfels and messages, and it gave a full view of the debates and opinions in the council at St. Germains, all which was omitted in that, which was taken by the Earl of Nottingham, and his paper concerning it was both short and dark; there was an appearance of truth, in all that Macclean told, and a regular progress was fet forth in it.

Upon these observations those Lords, who were not fatisfied with the Earl of Nottingham's paper, intended to have passed a censure upon it, as imperfect: It was faid, in the debate that followed upon this motion, either Macclean was asked, who was to command the army to be fent into Scotland, or he was not; if he was asked the question, and had answered it, then the Earl of Nottingham had not ferved the Queen or used the Parliament well, lince he had not put it in the paper; if it was not asked, here was great remissiness in a Minister, when it was confessed, that the sending over an army was in confultation, not to ask who was to command that army. Upon this occasion, the Earl of Torrington made some reflections, that had too deep a venom in them: He faid, the Earl of Nottingham did prove, that he had often read over the paper, in which he had fet down Macclean's confession, in his hearing; and had asked him, if all 1704.

all he had confessed to him was not fully set down in that paper; to which he always answered, that every thing he had faid was contained in it. Upon this, that Earl observed, that Macclean, having perhaps told his whole story to the Earl of Nottingham, and finding afterwards, that he had writ fuch a defective account of it, he had reason to conclude, (for he believed, had he been in his condition, he should have concluded so himself,) that the Earl of Nottingham had no mind, that he should mention any thing, but what he had writ down, and that he defired that the rest might be suppressed: He could not judge of others but by himself; if his life had been in danger, and if he were interrogated by a Minister of State, who could do him either much good or much hurt, and if he had made a full discovery to him, but had observed that this Minister, in taking his confession in writing, had omitted many things, he should have understood that, as an intimation that he was to speak of these things no more; and so he believed he should have faid it was all, tho' at the same time he knew it was not all, that he had faid. It was hereupon moved, that Macclean might be fent for and interrogated, but the party was not strong enough to carry any thing of that kind; and by a previous vote it was carried, to put no question concerning the Earl of Nottingham's paper.

The Lords were highly offended with Ferguson's paper, and passed a severe vote against those Lords, who had received such a scandalous paper from him, and had not ordered him to be prosecuted upon it; which they directed the Attorney-General to do. It was apparent, there was a train of dangerous negotiations, that passed between Scotland and St. Germains, tho' they could not penetrate into the bottom and depth of it: And the design of Keith's bringing in his uncle, was managed so remissly, that it was generally concluded that it was not in earnest desired it should succeed. Dur-

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Juring ing these debates, one very extraordinary thing hap-1704. pened: The Earl of Nottingham did, upon three or four occasions, affirm, that some things had been ordered in the Cabinet Council, which the Dukes of Somerfet and Devonshire, who were likewife of that council, did not agree with him in.

After all these examinations and debates, the TheLords Lords concluded the whole matter, with voting opinion that there had been dangerous plots between fome in upon the Scotland and the court of France and St. Germains; matter. and that the encouragement of this plotting came, from the not fettling the fuccession to the crown of Scotland in the House of Hanover: These votes they laid before the Queen; and promised, that when this was done, they would endeavour to promote the union of the two kingdoms, upon just and reasonable terms.

This being ended, they made a long and vigo- An adrous address, in answer to that which the Commons dress jufhad made against them: They observed how un- the proeasy the Commons had been at the whole progress ceeding of their inquiry into this matter, and had taken of the methods to obstruct it all they could; which did Lords, not shew that zeal for the Queen's safety, and the preservation of the nation, to which all men pretended: They annexed to their address, a lift of many precedents, to shew what good warrants they had for every step they had made: They took not the examination to themselves, so as to exclude others who had the fame right, and might have done it as well as they, if they had pleased: Their proceedings had been regular and parliamentary, as well as full of zeal and duty to the Queen: They made severe observations on some of the proceedings in the House of Commons, particularly on their not ordering writs to be iffued out for fome boroughs, to proceed to new elections, when they upon pretence of corruption, had voted an election void; which had been practifed of late, when it was vilible that the election would not fall on the person E 3

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they favoured. They charged this as a denial of justice, and of the right that such boroughs had to be represented in Parliament, and as an arbitrary and illegal way of proceeding: This address was penned with great care and much force. These addresses were drawn by the Lord Somers, and were read over and confidered and corrected very critically, by a few Lords, among whom I had the honour to be called for one. This, with the other papers that were published by the Lords, made a great impression on the body of the nation: For the difference that was between these, and those published by the House of Commons, was indeed so visible, that it did not admit of any comparison, and was confessed even by those who were the most unidated the two Lin partial to them.

recruits.

An act passed in this session, which may be of great advantage to the nation, if well executed; otherwise, since it is only enacted for one year, it will not be of much use: It impowers the justices of peace, or any three of them, to take up fuch idle perfons, as have no callings nor means of fubfiftence, and to deliver them to the officers of the army, upon paying them the levy money, that is allowed for making recruits: The methods of raising these hitherto, by drinking and other bad practices, as they were justly odious, so they were now so well known, that they were no more of any effect: So that the army could not be recruited, but by the help of this act. And if this is well managed, it will prove of great advantage to the nation; fince by this means, they will be delivered from many vicious and idle persons, who are become a burthen to their country: And indeed there was of late years so great an increase of the poor, that their maintenance was become in most places a very heavy load, and amounted to the full half of the publick taxes. The party in both Houses, that had been all along cold and backward in the war, opposed this act with unusual vehemence; they preof

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pretended zeal for the publick liberty, and the free- 1704. dom of the person, to which, by the constitution, they faid every Englishman had a right; which they thought could not be given away, but by a legal judgment, and for some crime. They thought this put a power in the hands of justices of peace, which might be ftretched and abused, to serve bad ends: Thus men, that feemed engaged to an interest, that was destructive to all liberty, could yet make use of that specious pretence, to serve their purpose. The act passed, and has been continued from year to year, with a very good effect: Only a visible remissiness appears in some justices, who are fecretly influenced by men of ill defigns.

The chief objection made to it in the House of An ad-Lords was, that the justices of peace had been put dress conin and put out, in fo strange a manner, ever fince cerning Wright had the Great Seal, that they did not de-tices of serve so great a power should be committed to peace. them: Many gentlemen, of good eftates, and ancient families, had been of late put out of the commission, for no other visible reason, but because they had gone in heartily to the revolution, and had continued zealous for the late King. This feemed done on defign to mark them, and to leffen the interest they had in the elections of members of Parliament: And at the fame time, men of no worth nor estate, and known to be ill-affected to the Queen's title, and to the Protestant succession, were put in, to the great encouragement of illdeligning men: All was managed by fecret accusations, and characters that were very partially given. Wright was a zealot to the party, and was become very exceptionable in all respects: Money, as was faid, did every thing with him; only in his court, I never heard him charged, for any thing but great flowness, by which the chancery was become one of the heaviest grievances of the nation. An address was made to the Queen, complaining

of the commissions of the peace, in which the

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1704. Lords delivered their opinion, that fuch as would not serve, or act under the late King, were not fit to ferve her Majesty. I mondificant povo bial work

The ill temper of many, efpecially of the clergy.

With this the fession of Parliament was brought to a quiet conclusion, after much heat and a great deal of contention between the two Houses: The Queen, as she thanked them for the supplies, so the again recommended union and moderation to them. These words, which had hitherto carried fo good a found, that all fides pretended to them, were now become fo odious to violent men, that even in fermons, chiefly at Oxford, they were arraigned as importing fomewhat, that was unkind to the Church, and that favoured the differents: The House of Commons had, during this fession, lost much of their reputation, not only with fair and impartial judges, but even with those, who were most inclined to favour them. It is true, the body of the freeholders began to be uneafy under the taxes, and to cry out for a peace: And most of the capital gentry of England, who had the most to lofe, feemed to be ill-turned, and not to apprehend the dangers we were in, if we should fall under the power of France, and into the hands of the pretended Prince of Wales; or elfe they were fo fatally blinded, as not to fee that these must be the consequences of those measures, in which they were engaged in-lifted or mound bus south road drow

> The universities, Oxford especially, have been very unhappily fuccessful in corrupting the principles of those, who were fent to be bred among them: So that few of them escaped the taint of it, and the generality of the clergy were not only illprincipled, but ill-tempered to they exclaimed against all moderation as endangering the Church; tho' it is visible, that the Church is in no fort of danger, from either the numbers or the interest that the differenters have among us, which by reason of the toleration is now for quieted, that nothing can keep up any heat in those matters, but the folly

Lords

and bad humour, that the clergy are possessed with, and which they infuse into all those, with whom they have credit: But at the fame time, tho' the great and visible danger, that hangs over us, is from Popery, which a miscarriage in the present war must let in upon us, with an inundation, not to be either refisted or recovered, they feem to be blind on that fide, and to apprehend and fear no-

thing from that quarter.

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The convocation did little this winter, they continued their former ill practices, but little opposition was made to them, as very little regard was had to them: They drew up a representation of fome abuses in the ecclesiastical discipline, and in the confistorial courts: But took care to mention none of those greater ones, of which many among themselves were eminently guilty; such as pluralities, non-refidence, the neglect of their cures, and the irregularities in the lives of the clergy, which were too visible.

Soon after the Session was ended, the Duke of The Duke Marlborough went over to Holland. He had gone of Marlborough over for some weeks, at the defire of the States, in went to January, and then there was a scheme formed for Holland the operations of the next campaign. It was re. in winter. folved that, instead of a fruitless one in the Netherlands, they would have a fmall army there, to he only on the defensive, which was to be commanded by M. Auverquerque; but that, fince the Rhine was open, by the taking of Bonne, all up to the Mozelle, their main army, that was to be commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, should act there: More was not understood to be designed, except by those who were taken into the confidence. Upon this, all the preparations for the campaign were ordered to be carried up to the Rhine; and so every thing was in a readiness, when he returned back to them in April: The true fecret was in few hands, and the French had no hint of it, and feemed to have no apprehensions about it. -MEGET The

Diewall

1704. The Earl of Nottingham quitted his place.

The Earl of Nottingham was animated by the party, to press the Queen, to dismiss the Dukes of Somerset and Devonshire from the cabinet council. at least that they might be called thither no more:

The Earl of Jerfey and Sir Edward Seymour turned out.

He moved it often, but finding no inclination in the Queen to comply with his motion, he carried the fignet to her, and told her, he could not ferve any longer in councils, to which these Lords were admitted: But the Queen defired him to confider better of it. He returned next day, fixed in his first resolution, to which he adhered the more fleadily, because the Queen had sent to the Earl of Jersey, for the Lord Chamberlain's staff, and to Sir Edward Seymour for the Comptroller's. The Earl of Jersey was a weak man, but crafty and well practifed in the arts of a court: His lady was a Papift, and it was believed, that while he was Ambaffador in France, he was fecretly reconciled to the court of St. Germains: For after that, he feemed in their interests. It was one of the reproaches of the last reign, that he had so much credit with the late King; who was fo fensible of it, that if he had lived a little while longer, he would have difmiffed him: He was confidered as the person, that was now in the closest corresponin winter dence with the court of France; and tho' he was in himself a very inconsiderable man, yet he was applied to, by all those who wished well to the court of St. Germains. The Earl of Kent had the Staff; he was the first Earl of England, and had a great estate: Mansell, the heir of a great family in Wales, was made Comptroller; and after a month's delay, Harley, the Speaker, was made Secretary of State: The same of we should be say.

The Duke of Marlborough conducted fecrecy.

But now I turn to give an account of the affairs abroad; the Emperor was reduced to the last extremities; the Elector of Bavaria was master of his defign the Danube all down to Passau, and the male-conwith great contents in Hungary were making a formidable progress: The Emperor was not in a condition to

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maintain a defensive war long, on both hands; so 1704. that when these should come to act by concert, no opposition could be made to them. Thus his affairs had a very black appearance, and utter ruin was to be apprehended; Vienna would be probably belieged on both fides; and it was not in a condition to make a long defence: So the House of Austria seemed lost. Prince Eugene proposed that the Emperor should implore the Queen's protection; this was agreed to, and Count Wratislaw managed the matter at our court, with great application and fecrecy; the Duke of Marlborough faw the necessity of undertaking it, and resolved to try, if it was possible, to put it in execution. When he went into Holland in the winter, he proposed it to the pensioner and other persons of the greatest confidence; they approved of it, but it was not adviseable to propose it to the States; at that time, many of them would not have thought their country fafe, if their army should be fent so far from them; nothing could be long a fecret, that was proposed to such an affembly, and the main hope of fucceeding in this defign lay in the fecrecy, with which it was conducted. Under the blind of the project of carrying the war to the Mozelle, every thing was prepared, that was necessary for executing the true defign. When the Duke went over the second time, that which was proposed in publick, related only to the motions towards the Mozelle; fo he drew his army together in May: He marched towards the Mozelle; but he went farther, and after he had gained the advance of fome days of the French troops, he wrote to the States from Ladenburg to let them know, that he had the Queen's order, to march to the relief of the empire, with which he hoped they would agree, and allow of his carrying their troops, to share in the honour of that expedition; he had their answer, as quick as the courier could carry it, by which they approved of the defign, and of his carrying their troops with him.

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So he marched with all possible expedition from the Rhine to the Danube; which was a great fur-Hemarch-prize to the court of France, as well as to the Elector of Bavaria. The King of France fent orders to Mareschal Tallard, to march in all haste, with the best troops they had, to support the Elector, who apprehended, that the Duke of Marlborough would endeavour to pass the Danube at Donawert, and fo to break into Bavaria: To prevent that, he posted about 16000 of his best troops at Schellenberg near Donawert; which was looked on as a very strong and tenable post. The Duke of Marlborough joined the Prince of Baden, with the imperial army, in the beginning of July; and after a long march, continued from three in the The battle morning, they came up to the Bavarian troops towards the evening; they were fo well posted, that our men were repulfed in the three first attacks with great loss; at last the enemy were beat from their posts, which was followed with a total rout, and we became mafters of their camp, their artillery and their baggage. Their General Arco, with many others, fwam over the Danube: Others got into Donawert, which they abandoned next morning, with that precipitation, that they were not able to execute the Elector's cruel orders, which were to fet fire to the town, if they should be

> in case of a misfortune. The best half of the Bavarian forces were now entirely routed, about 5000 of them were killed: We lost as many, for the action was very hot, and our men were much exposed; yet they went still on, and continued the attack with fuch refolution, that it let the generals fee, how much they might depend on the courage of their foldiers. Now we were masters of Donawert, and thereby of a paffage over the Danube, which laid all Bavaria open to our army: Upon that the Elector, with mid driv & Mareschal

> forced to abandon it: Great quantities of straw were laid in many places, as a preparation for that,

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Mareschal Marsin, drew the rest of his army under 1704. the cannon of Augsbourg, where he lay so well posted, that it was not possible to attack him, nor to force him out of it; the Duke of Marlborough followed him, and got between him and his country; fo that it was wholly in his power. When he had him at this disadvantage, he entered upon a treaty with him, and offered him what terms he could defire, either for himself or his brother. even to the paying him the whole charge of the war, upon condition that he would immediately break with the French, and fend his army into Italy, to join with the Imperialists there: His subjects, who were now at mercy, preffed him vehemently to accept of those terms; he seemed inclined to hearken to them, and messengers went often between the two armies: But this was done only to gain time, for he fent courier after courier, with most pressing instances to hasten the advance of the French army. When he faw, he could gain no more time, the matter went to far, that the articles were ordered to be made ready for figning: In conclusion, he refused to fign them; and then levere orders were given for military execution on: his country: Every thing that was within the reach of the army, that was worth taking, was brought away; and the reft was burnt and deftroyby which ican wared. Villerov to the Elega

The two generals did after that resolve on further action, and since the Elector's camp could not be forced, the siege of Ingolstad was to be carried on: It was the most important place he had, in which his great magazines were laid up. The Prince of Baden went to besiege it; and the Duke of Marlborough was to cover the siege, in conjunction with Prince Eugene, who commanded a body of the imperial army, which was now drawn out of the posts, in which they had been put, in order to hinder the march of the French: But they were not able to maintain them, against so great a force

1704. as was now coming up; these formed a great army. Prince Eugene, having intelligence of the quick motions of the French, posted his troops, that were about 18000, as advantageously as he could: And went to concert matters with the Duke of Marlborough, who lay at some distance: He upon that marched towards the Prince's army with all possible haste, and so the two armies joined; it was now in the beginning of August. The Elector hearing how near M. Tallard was, marched with M. Marsin, and joined him. Their armies advanced very near ours, and were well posted; having the Danube on one side, and a rivulet on the other, whose banks were high, and in fome places formed a morals before them. The two armies were now in view one of another: The French were fuperior to us in foot, by about 10000; but we had 3000 horse more than they: The post of which they were possessed was capable of being, in a very little time, put out of all danger of future attacks; fo the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene faw how important it was, to lose no time, and refolved to attack them the next morning: They faw the danger of being forced otherwife to lie idle in their camp, 'till their forage should be confumed, and their provisions spent. They had also intercepted letters from Mareschal Villeroy to the Elector, by which it appeared, that he had orders to march into Wirtemberg, to deftroy that country, and to cut off the communication with the Rhine, which must have been fatal to us: So the necessary dispositions were made for the next morning's action. Many of the general officers came and represented to the Duke of Marlborough the difficulties of the defign; he faid he faw these well, but the thing was absolutely necessary: fo they were fent to give orders every where, which was received all over the army with an alacrity, that gave a happy presage of the success that followed.

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I will not venture on a particular relation of that 1704. great day; I have feen a copious account of it. prepared by the Duke of Marlborough's orders, that will be printed some time or other: But there are some passages in it, which make him not think it fit to be published presently. He told me, he never faw more evident characters of a special providence, than appeared that day; a fignal one related to his own person; a cannon-ball went into the ground to near him, that he was some time quite covered with the cloud of dust and earth that it raised about him. I will sum up the action in a few words.

Our men quickly passed the brook, the French The Battle making no opposition: This was a fatal error of Hockand was laid wholly to Tallard's charge; the action led. that followed was for some time very hot, many fell on both fides; ten battalions of the French stood their ground, but were in a manner mowed down in their ranks; upon that the horse ran many of them into the Danube, most of these perished; Tallard himself was taken prisoner. The rest of his troops were posted in the village of Blenheim: Thele, feeing all loft, and that some bodies were advancing upon them, which feemed to them to be thicker than indeed they were, and apprehending that it was impossible to break thro', they did not attempt it, tho brave men might have made their way. Instead of that when our men came up to let hire to the village; the Earl of Orkney first beating a parley, they hearkened to it very eafily, and were all made prisoners of war: There were about 1300 officers and 12000 common foldiers, who laid down their arms, and were now in our hands. Thus all Tallard's army was either killed in the action, drowned in the Danube, or become priloners by capitulation: Things went not to eafily on Prince Eugene's fide, where the Elector and Marsin commanded; he was repulsed in three attacks, but carried the fourth, and broke in; and

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gage. The enemy retired in some order, and he pursued them as far as men, wearied with an action of about six hours, in an extreme hot day, could go; thus we gained an entire victory. In this action there was on our side about 12000 killed and wounded; but the French and the Elector lost

about 40000 killed, wounded and taken.

The Elector marched with all the hafte he could to Ulm, where he left fome troops, and then with a finall body got to Villeroy's army. Now all Bavaria was at mercy; the Electress received the civilities due to her fex, but she was forced to fubmit to fuch terms, as were imposed on her: Ingolftad and all the fortified places in the electorate, with the magazines that were in them, were foon delivered up: Augsbourg, Ulm and Meming quickly recovered their liberty; so now our army, having put a speedy conclusion to the war, that was got so far into the bowels of the empire, marched quickly back to the Rhine. The emperor made great acknowledgments of this fignal fervice, which the Duke of Marlborough had done him, and upon it offered to make him a Prince of the empire; he very decently faid, he could not accept of this, till he knew the Queen's pleasure; and upon her consenting to it, he was created a Prince of the empire, and about a year after, Mindleheim was affigned him for his principality.

Upon this great fuccess in Germany, the Duke of Savoy sent a very pressing message for a present supply; the Duke of Vendome was in Piedmont, and after a long siege had taken Verceil, and was like to make a further progress: The sew remains of the imperial army, that lay in the Modeneze, gave but a small diversion; the Grand Prior had so shut them up, that they lay on a seeble defensive; Baron Leiningen was sent, with another small army into the Brescian; but he was so ill supplied, that he could do nothing, but eat up the country;

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1704.

and the Venetians were so feeble and so fearful, that they fuffered their country to be eat up by both fides, without declaring for or against either. The Prince of Baden infifted on undertaking the Siege of Landau, as necessary to secure the circles; Suabia in particular, from the excursions of that garrison: This was popular in Germany, and tho the Duke of Marlborough did not approve it, he did not oppose it, with all the authority that his great fuccels gave him: So the Prince of Baden undertook it, while the Duke with his army cover'd the fiege. This was univerfally blamed, for while France was in the consternation, which the late great loss brought them under, a more vigorous proceeding was like to have greater effects; besides that the imperial army was ill provided, the great charge of a fiege was above their strength: The Prince of Baden suffered much in his reputation for this undertaking; it was that, which the French withed for, and fo it was fufpected, that some secret practice had prevailed on that Prince to propose it. It is certain, that he was jealous of the glory the Duke had got, in which he had no share; and it was believed, that if he had not gone to beliege Ingolftat, the battle had never been fought: He was indeed to fierce a bigot in his religion, that he could not bear the fuccesses of those, he called hereticks, and the exaltation which he thought herefy might have upon

While the Duke of Marlborough lay covering the Siege Villeroy with his army came and looked on him; but as our foldiers were exalted with their fuccess, so the French were too much dispirited with their losses, to make any attack, or to put any thing to hazard, in order to raise the siege: They retired back, and went into quarters, and trusted to the bad state of the imperial army, who were ill provided and ill supplied; the garrison made as vigorous a defence, and drew out the Vol. IV.

1704.

Siege to as great a length, as could be expected: The Prince of Baden had neither engineers nor ammunition, and wanted money to provide them; fo that if the Duke had not supplied him, he must have been forced to give it over. The King of the Romans came again, to have the honour of taking the place; his behaviour there did not serve to raise his character; he was not often in the places of danger, and was content to look on at a great and safe distance; he was always beset with priests, and such a face of superstition and bigotry appeared about him, that it very much damped the hopes, that were given of him.

The Duke of Marlborough advanced to Triers.

When it appeared, that there was no need of an army to cover the Siege, and that the place could not hold out many days, the Duke of Marlborough resolved to possess himself of Triers, as a good winter quarter, that brought him near the confines of France; from whence he might open the campaign next year, with great advantage: And he reckoned that the taking of Traerback, even in that advanced feafon, would be foon done: And then the communication with Holland, by water, was all clear: So that during the winter, every thing that was necessary could be brought up thither from Holland fafe and cheap. This he executed with that diligence, that the French abandoned every place as he advanced, with fuch precipitation, that they had not time given them, to burn the places they forfook, according to the barbarous method, which they had long practifed. The Duke got to Triers, and that being a large place, he posted a great part of his army in and about it, and left a fufficient force with the Prince of Hesse for the taking of Traerback, which held out some Weeks, but capitulated at last. Landau was not taken before the middle of November.

Thus ended this glorious campaign; in which England and Holland gained a very unufual glory: for as they had never fent their armies fo far by land, fo

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to their triumphant return helped not a little to 1704. animate and unite their counfels. Prince Eugene had a just share, in the honour of this great expedition, which he had chiefly promoted by his counfels, and did so nobly support by his conduct. The Prince of Baden had no share in the publick joy: His conduct was as bad as could be, and the fret he was possessed with, upon the glory that the other generals carried from him, threw him, as was believed, into a languishing, of which he never quite recovered, and of which he died two

years after.

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At the conclusion of the campaign, the Duke of Marlborough went to Berlin, where he concerted the measures for the next campaign, and agreed with the King of Prussia, for 8000 of his troops, which were to be fent to Italy upon the Queen's pay: He had fettled matters with the emperor's ministers, so that they undertook to send Prince Eugene, with an army of 20000 men, who should begin their march into Italy, as foon as it was possible to pass the mountains: Of these the Queen and the States were to pay 16000. He returned by the Court of Hanover, where he was treated with all the honour, that the fuccess of the campaign well deferved: He met with the fame reception in Holland, and was as much confidered and fubmitted to, as if he had been their Stadtholder: The credit he was in among them was very happy to them, and was indeed necessary at that time, for keeping down their factions and animolities, which were rifing in every province, and in most of their towns. Only Amsterdam, as it was the most sensible of the common danger, so it was not only quiet within itself, but it contributed not a little to keep all the rest so, which was chiefly maintained by the Duke of Marlborough's prudent management. England was full of joy, and addresses of congratulation were sent up from all parts of the nation; but it was very visible that, F 2 in coldly, and perhaps that made the Whigs the more zealous and affectionate.

Affairs at fea.

I now turn to the other element, where our affairs were carried on more doubtfully. Rook failed into the Straits where he reckoned he was ftrong enough for the Toulon fquadron, which was then abroad in the Mediterranean. Soon after that, a strong squadron from Brest passed by Lisbon into the Straits. Methuen, our ambaffador there, apprehending, that if these two squadrons should join to attack Rook, it would not be possible for him to fight against so great a force, fent a man-of-war, that Rook had left at Lifbon, with some particular orders, which made him very unwilling to carry the message, but Methuen promised to fave him harmless. He upon that failed thro' the French fleet, and brought this important advertisement to Rook; who told him, that on this occasion he would pass by his not obferving his orders, but that for the future, he would find the fafest course was to obey orders. Upon this, Rook stood out of the way of the French, towards the mouth of the Straits, and there he met Shovel, with a fquadron of our best ships; so being thus reinforced, he failed up the Straits, being now in a condition, if need were, to engage the French. He came before Barcelona, where the prince of Hesse Darmstat assured him, there was a strong party ready to declare for king Charles, as it was certain, that there was a great disposition in many to it. But Rook would not stay above three days before it: fo that the motions within the town, and the discoveries that many made of their inclinations, had almost proved fatal to them: He answered, when preffed to flay a few days more, that his orders were positive: he must make towards Nice: which it was believed the French intended to be-

But as he was failing that way, he had advice, that the French had made no advances in that de-

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fight of the French fleet, failing from Brest to Toulon: the advantage he had was so visible, that it was expected he would have made towards them; he did it not: what orders he had was not known, for the matter never came under examination: They got to Toulon, and he steered another way. The whole French sleet was then together in that harbour, for the Toulon squadron had been out before, it was then in port.

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A very happy accident had preserved a rich fleet of merchant ships from Scanderoon, under the convoy of three or four frigates, from falling into their hands: the French fleet lay in their way in the bay of Tunis, and nothing could have faved them from being taken, but that which happened in the critical minute, in which they needed it: a thick fog covered them all the while, that they were failing by that bay, fo that they had no apprehension of the danger they were in, till they had passed it. I know it is not possible to determine, when such accidents rife from a chain of fecond causes in the course of nature, and when they are directed by a special providence; but my mind has always carried me fo ftrongly to acknowledge the latter, that I love to let thele reflections in the way of others, that they may confider them with the same serious attention, that I feel in myself.

Rook, as he failed back, fell in upon Gibraltar; Gibraltar where he spent much powder, bombarding it to ver was taken ry little purpose, that he might seem to attempt somewhat; though there was no reason to hope that he could succeed: some bold men ventured to go a-shore, in a place where it was not thought possible to climb up the rocks; yet they succeeded in it: when they got up, they saw all the women of the town were come out, according to their Superstition, to a chapel there, to implore the virgin's protection; they seized on them, and that contributed not a little to dispose those in the town to surrender;

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in case they staid, they were assured of protection in their religion, and in every thing else; for the Prince of Hesse, who was to be their Governor, was a Papist: But they all went away, with the small garrison that had defended the place. The Prince of Hesse, with the marines that were on board the sleet, possessed himself of the place, and they were furnished out of the stores, that went with the fleet, with every thing that was necessary for their subsistence or defence; and a regular method was laid down, of supplying them constantly from Lisbon.

It has been much questioned, by men who understand these matters well, whether our possessing ourselves of Gibraltar, and our maintaining ourselves in it so long, was to our advantage or not; it has certainly put us to a great charge, and we have lost many men in it; but it seems the Spaniards, who should know the importance of the place best, think it so valuable, that they have been at a much greater charge, and have lost many more men, while they have endeavoured to recover it, than the taking or keeping it has cost us: And it is certain that in war, whatsoever loss on one side occasions a greater loss of men or of treasure to the other, must be reckoned a loss only to the side that suffers most.

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The affairs of Portugal.

Our expedition in Portugal, and our armies there, which cost us so dear, and from which we expected so much, had not hitherto had any great effects: The King of Portugal expressed the best intentions possible; but he was much governed by his ministers, who were all in the French interests; they had a great army, but they had made no preparations for taking the field; nor could they bring their troops together, for want of provisions and parriages; the forms of their government made them very flow, and not easily accessible: They were too proud to consess that they wanted any thing,

thing, when they had nothing; and too lazy to be- 1704. flir themselves, to execute what was in their power to do; and the King's ill health furnished them with an excuse, for every thing that was defective, and out of order. The Priests both in Spain and Portugal were fo univerfally in the French interest, that even the House of Austria, that had been formerly so much in their favour, was now in difgrace with them: Their alliance with hereticks, and their bringing over an army of them, to maintain their pretensions, had made all their former fervices be forgotten: The governing body at Rome did certainly engage all their zealots every where to support that interest, which is now so set on the destruction of herefy. King Philip advanced towards the frontiers of Portugal, his army being commanded by the Duke of Berwick, who began to shine there, tho' he had passed elsewhere for a man of no very great character. They had feveral advantages of the Portugueze; some of the English and Dutch battalions, which were so posted, that they could not be relieved, and in places that were not tenable, fell into the enemies hands, and were made prisoners of war. Some of the general officers, who came over, faid to me, that if the Duke of Berwick had followed his advantages, nothing could have hindered his coming to Lifbon. The Duke of Schomberg was a better officer in the field, than in the cabinet; he did not enough know how to prepare for a campaign; he was both too unactive and too haughty; so it was thought necessary to lend another to command: The Earl of Galway was judged the fittest person for that service; he undertook it, more in submission to the Queen's commands, than out of any great prospect or hopes of fuccess; things went on very heavily there; the distraction that the taking Gibraltar put the Spamards in, as it occasioned a diversion of some of the Spanish forces, that lay on their frontier, so it medical production of Figure 1 and the set fur-

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1704. furnished them with advantages, which they took

no care to improve.

A fight at Rook, after he had supplied Gibraltar, failed again into the Mediterranean: And there he met the Count of Thoulouse, with the whole French fleet: They were superior to the English in number, and had many gallies with them, that were of great use. Rook called a council of war, in which it was resolved to engage them; there was not due care taken, to furnish all the ships with a sufficient quantity of powder, for some had wasted a great part of their stock of ammunition before Gibraltar, yet they had generally twenty-five rounds, and it had feldom happened, that so much powder was spent in an action at sea. On the 12th of August, just ten days after the battle of Hocksted, the two fleets engaged: Shovel advanced with his fquadron to a close fight, for it was the maxim of our feamen to fight as near as they could; he had the advantage, and the foundron before him gave way: Rook fought at a greater distance; many broadfides paffed, and the engagement continued till night parted them; fome ships, that had spent all their ammunition, were forced on that account to go out of the line, and if the French had come to a new engagement next day, it might have been fatal, fince many of our ships were without powder, whilft others had enough and to spare.

In this long and hot action, there was no ship of either fide, that was either taken, funk or burnt; we made a fliew, the next day, of preparing for a fecond engagement; but the enemy bore off, to the great joy of our fleet; the French suffered much in this action; and went into Toulon fo difabled, that they could not be put in a condition to go to fea again in many months. They left the fea, as the field of battle, to us; fo the honour of the action remained with us; tho' the nation was not much lifted up, with the news of a drawn battle at fea with the French. We were long without

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t (a certain account of this action; but the modelty, 1704. in which the King of France wrote of it, to the Archbishop of Paris, put us out of all fears; for whereas their style was very boasting of their succeffes, in this it was only faid, that the action was to his advantage; from that cold expression we concluded the victory was on our fide.

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out cerWhen the full account was fent home from our fleet, the partialities on both fides appeared very fignally; the Tories magnified this, as a great victory, and in their addresses of congratulation to the Queen, they joined this with that which the Duke of Marlborough had gained at Hocksted. I understand nothing of sea-matters; and therefore cannot make a judgment in the point: I have heard men, skilled in those affairs, differ much in their fentiments of Rook's conduct in that action; fome not only justifying but extolling it, as much as others condemned it. It was certainly ridiculous. to fet forth the glory of fo disputable an engagement, in the fame words, with the fuccesses we had by land: The fleet foon after failed home for England, Leak being left with a fquadron at Lifther administration was much commended

The Spaniards drew all the forces they had in The fiege Andalousia and Estremadura together, to retake of Gi-Gibraltar; that army was commanded by the Duke braltar. of Villadarias; he had with him fome French troops, with some engineers of that nation, who were chiefly relied on, and were fent from France to carry on the fiege. This gave fome difgust to the Spaniards, who were to foolish in their pride, that tho' they could do nothing for themselves, and indeed knew not how to fer about it, yet could not bear to be taught by others, or to fee themselves out-done by them. The fiege was continued for above four months, during which time the Prince of Hesse had many occasions given him to diftinguish himself very eminently, both as to his courage, conduct, and indefatigable application. Convoys came frequently

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quently from Lifbon, with supplies of men and provisions; which the French were not able to hinder, or to intercept. Pointy at last came, with a fquadron of twenty French ships, and lay long in the bay, trying what could be done by fea, while the place was pressed by land; upon that, a much stronger squadron was sent from Lisbon, with a great body of men, and stores of all forts, to relieve the place and to raise the siege; and the court of France, not being fatisfied with the conduct of the Spanish General, sent Mareschal Tesse to carry on the fiege with greater expedition. The Portugueze all this while made no use of the diversion. given by the siege of Gibraltar; they made great demands on us; for England was now confidered as a fource, that could never be exhausted: We granted all their demands, and a body of horse was fent to them at a vast charge. The King was in a very ill state of health, occasioned by disorders in his youth; he had not been treated skilfully, so he was often relapfing, and was not in a condition to apply himself much to business: For some time, our Queen Dowager was fet at the head of their councils; her administration was much commended, and the was very careful of the English, and -D to all their concerns cot a unamonal to both subjects to

Italy.

Affairs in In Italy the Duke of Savoy had a melancholy campaign, losing place after place; but he supported his affairs with great conduct; and shewed a firmness in his misfortunes, beyond what could have been imagined: Verceil and Yvrea gave the Duke of Vendome the trouble of a tedious siege; they stood their ground as long as possible; the Duke of Savoy's army was not strong enough to raise these sieges, so both places fell in conclusion. The French had not troops both to carry on the war, and to leave garrisons in those places, so they demolished the fortifications; after they had fucceeded fo far, they fat down before Verue, in the end of October. The Duke of Savoy posted his army

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army at Crescentino, over against it, on the other fide of the Po; he had a bridge of communication; he went often into the place, during the fiege, to fee and animate his men, and to give all necessary orders; the fick and wounded were carried away, and fresh men put in their stead: This siege proved the most famous of all, that had been during the late wars; it lafted above five months, the garrison being often changed, and always well supplied. The French army fuffered much, by continuing the fiege all the winter, and they were at a vast charge in carrying it on; the bridge of communication was, after many unfuccessful attempts, at last cut off; and the Duke of Savoy being thus separated from the place, retired to Chivaz, and left them to defend themselves, as long as they could, which they did beyond what could in reason have been expected. The Duke of Savoy complained much of the Emperor's failing to make good his promifes; but in a discourse upon that subject, with the Queen's Envoy, he faid, tho' he was abandoned by his Allies, he would not abandon himfelf.

The poor people in the Cevennes suffered much And in this fummer: It was not possible to come to them the Cewith supplies, till matters should go better in Pied-vennes. ment, of which there was then no prospect; they were advised to preserve themselves the best they could: Marshal Villars was sent into the country, to manage them with a gentler hand; the fevere methods, taken by those formerly imployed, being now disowned, he was ordered to treat with their leaders, and to offer them full liberty, to ferve God in their own way, without disturbance; they generally inclined to hearken to this: For they had now kept themselves in a body, much longer than was thought possible, in their low and helpless state; some of them capitulated, and took service in the French army; but as foon as they came near the armies of the Allies, they deferted, and went over to them, so that by all this practice,

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extinguished.

Affairs of Hungary.

The diforders in Hungary had a deeper root. and a greater strength; it was hoped, that the ruin of the Elector of Bavaria would have quite difheartened them, and have disposed them to accept of reasonable terms; if the Emperor could have been prevailed on to offer them frankly, and immediately upon their first consternation, after the conquest of Bavaria. There were great errors in the government of that kingdom; by a long course of oppression and injustice, the Hungarians were grown favage and intractable; they faw they were both hated and despised by the Germans; the court of Vienna feemed to confider them, as fo many enemies, who were to be depressed, in order to their being extirpated; upon any pretence of plots their persons were seized on, and their estates confiscated: The Jesuits were believed to have a great share in all those contrivances and prosecutions; and it was faid, that they purchased the confiscated estates upon very easy terms; the nobility ni ba A of Hungary feemed irreconcileable to the court of -00 of Vienna: On the other hand, those of that court, who had these confications affigned them, and knew that the restoring these would certainly be infifted on as a necessary article, in any treaty that might follow, did all they could to obstruct such a treaty. It was visible that Ragotski, who was at their head, aimed at the principality of Tranfylvania: And it was natural for the Hungarians to look on his arriving at that dignity, by which he could protect and affift them, as the best security they could have. On the other hand, the court of Vienna, being possessed of that principality, would not eafily part with it. In the midst of all this fermentation, a revolution happened in the Turkish empire: A new Sultan was fet up. So all things were at a stand, till it might be known, what was to be expected from him. They were foon delivered ite

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livered from this anxiety; for he fent a Chiaus to 1704. the Court of Vienna, to affure them, that he was resolved to maintain the peace in all points; and that he would give no affiftance to the Malecon-The court of Vienna being freed from those apprehensions, resolved to carry on the war in Hungary, as vigoroufly as they could: This was imputed to a fecret practice from France, on some of that court, and there were fo many there, concerned in the confications, that every propolition that way was powerfully supported: Thus Italy was neglected, and the fiege of Landau was ill fupported; their chief strength being imployed in Hungary. Yet when the ministers of the Allies pressed the opening a treaty with the Malecontents, the Emperor feemed willing to refer the arbitration of that matter to his Allies: But tho' it was fit to speak in that style, yet no such thing was deligned. A treaty was opened, but when it was known that Zeiher had the chief management of it, there was no reason to expect any good effect of it: He was born a Protestant, a subject of the Palatinate, and was often employed by the Elector Charles Lewis, to negotiate affairs at the court of Vienna; he, feeing a prospect of rising in that court, changed his religion, and became a creature of the Jesuits; and adhered steadily to all their interests. He managed that fecret practice with the French, in the treaty of Ryfwick, by which the Protestants of the Palatinate suffered so considerable a Prejudice. The treaty in Hungary stuck at the Preliminaries; for indeed neither fide was then inclined to treat; the Malecontents were supported from France; they were routed in several engagements, but thele were not fo confiderable as the court of Vienna gave out, in their publick news; the Malecontents fuffered much in them, but came foon together again, and they subsisted so well, what by the mines, of which they had possessed themselves, what by the incursions they made, and the contributions

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1704. butions they raifed from the Emperor's subjects that unless the war were carried on more vigorously, or a peace were offered more fincerely, that kingdom was long like to be a scene of blood and rapine.

The affairs of Poland.

So was its neighbouring kingdom of Poland: It was hoped, that the talk of a new election was only a loud threatning, to force a peace the fooner; but it proved otherwise: A diet was brought together of those, who were irreconcileable to King Augustus, and after many delays, Stanislaus, one of the Palatines, was chosen and proclaimed their King; and he was presently owned by the King of Sweden. The Cardinal feemed at first unwilling to agree to this, but he fuffered himself to be forced to it; this was believed to be only an artifice of his, to excuse himself to the court of France, whose pensioner he was, and to whom he had engaged to carry the election for the Prince of Conti. The war went on this year, with various fuccess on both fides; King Augustus made a quick march to Warfaw, where he furprized some of Stanislaus's party, he himself escaping narrowly; but the King of Sweden followed fo close, that not being able to fight him, he was forced to retreat into Saxony, where he continued for some months: There he ruined his own dominions, by the great preparations he made, to return with a mighty force; the delay of that made many forfake his party; for it was given out, that he would return no more, and that he was weary of the war, and he had good reafon fo to be. Poland, in the mean while, was in a most miserable condition; the King of Sweden subfifted his army in it, and his temper grew daily more fierce and Gothick; he was refolved to make no peace, till Augustus was driven out: In the mean while, his own country fuffered much; Livonia was destroyed by the Muscovites; they had taken Narva, and made some progresses into Sweden. The Pope espoused the interests of King Auguftus; jectsi

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gustus; for to support a new convert of such im- 1704. portance, was thought a point worthy the zeal of that fee; fo he cited the cardinal to appear at Rome, and to give an account of the share he had in all that war. balaid sorts to

The Pope was now wholly in the French interest, The Pope and maintained the character, they pretend to, of wholly in a common father, with fo much partiality, that interest. the emperor himself, how tame and submissive soever to all the impolitions of that see, yet could not bear it: but made loud complaints of it. The Pope had threatned, that he would thunder out excommunications against all those troops, that should continue in his dominions: The emperor was fo implicit in his faith, and to ready in his obedience, that he ordered his troops to retire out of the ecclesiastical state; but all the effect that this had. was to leave that state entirely in the hands of the French, against whom the Pope did not think fit to fulminate; yet the Pope still pretended that he would maintain a Neutrality, and both the Venetians and the Great Duke adhered to him in that resolution, and continued neutral during the war.

Having now given a view of the state of affairs Theasfairs abroad; I return back to profecute the relation of of Scotthose at home, and begin with Scotland. A land. Session of Parliament was held there this summer: The Duke of Queensbury's management of the plot was to liable to exception, that it was not thought fit to imploy him, and it feems he had likewife brought himself under the Queen's displeasure; for it was proposed by some of his friends in the House of Lords, to defire the Queen to communicate to them a letter, which he had wrote to her of luch a date: This looked like an examination of the Queen herfelf, to whom it ought to have been left, to fend what letters she thought fit to the House, and they ought not to call for any one in particular. The matter of that letter made him liable to a very severe censure in Scotland: For in plain

1704. plain words he charged the majority of the Parlia ment, as determined in their proceedings, by an influence from St. Germains: This exposed him in Scotland to the fury of a Parliament; for how true foever this might be, by the laws of that kingdom, fuch a representation of a Parliament to the Queen, efpecially in matters which could not be proved

was leafing-making, and was capital.

The chief design of the Court in this fession, was to get the fuccession of the Crown to be declared, and a supply to be given for the army, which was run into a great arrear. In the debates of the former fession, those who opposed every thing, more particularly the declaring the fuccession, had insisted chiefly on motions to bring their own constitution to such a settlement, that they might fuffer no prejudice, by their King's living in England. Mr. Johnstoun was now taken in by the ministers into a new management: It was proposed by him, in concert with the Marquess of Tweedale, and some others in Scotland that the Queen should empower her commissioner to confent to a revival of the whole fettlement made by King Charles the first, in the year 1641.

By that, the King named a Privy Council and his ministers of State in Parliament, who had a power to accept of, or to except to the nomination, without being bound to give the reason for excepting to it: In the intervals of Parliament, the King was to give all imployments, with the confent of the Privy Council: This was the main point of that fettlement, which was looked on by the wifest men of that time, as a full fecurity to all their laws and liberties: It did indeed divest the Crown of a great part of the prerogative; and it brought the Parliament into some equality with

the Crown.

The Queen, upon the representation made to her by her ministers, offered this as a limitation on the fuccessor, in case they would settle the suc-

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cellion, as England had done; and for doing this, 1704, the Marquess of Tweedale was named her commissioner. The Queen did also signify her pleafure very positively to all who were imployed by her, that she expected they should concur in fettling the fuccession, as they defired the continuance of her favour. Both the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Godolphin expressed themselves very fully and politively to the same purpose; yet it was dextroufly furmized, and industriously set about by the Jacobites, and too eafily believed by jealous and cautious people, that the court was not fincere in this matter; and that at best they were indifferent as to the fuccess. Some went further, and faid, that those who were in a particular confidence at Court, did fecretly oppose it, and entred into a management on defign to obstruct it: I could never fee any good ground for this fuggestion; yet there was matter enough for jealoufy to work on, and this was carefully improved by the Jacobites, in order to defeat the defign. Mr. Johnftoun was made Lord Register, and was sent down to promote the defign; the Jacobites were put in hopes, in case of a rupture, to have a considerable Force fent to support them from Dunkirk.

A Session of Parliament being opened, and the speeches made, and the Queen's letter read, all which tended to the fettling the fuccession, that was the first debate: A great party was now wrought on, when they understood the security, that was to be offered to them: For the wifest patriots in that kingdom had always magnified that constitution, as the best contrived scheme that could be defired: So they went in with great zeal, to the accepting of it. But those who, in the former fession, had rejected all the motions of treating with England with fome fcorn, and had made this their constant topick, that they must in the first place secure their own constitution at home, and then they might trust the rest to time, and to such accidents, as VOL. IV.

1704. time might bring forth; now when they faw that every thing, that could be defired, was offered with relation to their own government; they (being resolved to oppose any declaration of the succession. what terms foever might be granted to obtain it) turned the argument wholly another way; to shew the necessity of a previous treaty with England. They were upon that told, that the Queen was ready to grant them every thing, that was reafonable, with relation to their own constitution, yet without the concurrence of the Parliament of Eng. land, she could grant nothing, in which England was concerned; for they were for demanding a share of the plantation-trade, and that their ships might be comprehended within the act of navigation.

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about the fuccession.

After a long debate, the main question was put, whether they should then enter upon the consideration of the limitations of the government, in order to the fixing the fuccession of the Crown, or if that should be postponed till they had obtained fuch a fecurity, by a treaty with England, as they should judge necessary. It was carried by a majority of forty, to begin with a treaty with England: Of these, about thirty were in immediate dependence on the Court, and were determined according to the directions given them. So, notwithstanding a long and idle speech of the Earl of Cromarty's which was printed, running into a diftinction among divines, between the revealed and fecret will of God, shewing, that no such distinction could be applied to the Queen; she had but one Will, and that was revealed; yet it was still fuspected, that at least her ministers had a secret will in the case. They went no further in this

fession.

tling it put vote for a treaty with England; for they could off for that not agree among themselves, who should be the commissioners, and those who opposed the declaring the fuccession, were concerned for no more, when that question was once set aside: So it was postponed, as a matter about which they took no further care. .VI They

v that ffered being effion, in it) Thew gland. 1 Was afona-, yet Eng. gland Share might n. s put, nlidein orn, or ained they a ma-Engediate d acnotarl of a dif-1 and incti-

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They offered to the court fix months ceffe, for the 1704. pay of the army; but they tacked to this a great part of a bill which passed the former Session of Parlia- A moneyment, but was refused by the throne: By that it bill with a tack to it. was provided, that if the Queen should die without Issue, a Parliament should presently meet, and they were to declare the fuccessor to the Crown, who should not be the same person, that was posfessed of the Crown of England, unless before that time there should be a settlement made in Parliament, of the rights and liberties of the nation. independent on English councils. By another clause in the act, it was made lawful to arm the subjects, and to train them and put them in a posture of This was chiefly preffed, in behalf of the best-affected in the kingdom, who were not armed; for the Highlanders, who were the worst-affected, were well-armed; fo to ballance that, it was moved, that leave should be given to arm the rest. All was carried with great heat and much vehemence; for a national humour, of being independent on England, fermented fo strongly, among all forts of people without doors, that those, who went not into every hot motion, that was made, were looked on as the betrayers of their country: And they were fo exposed to a popular fury, that fome of those, who studied to stop this tide, were thought to be in danger of their lives. The Prefbyterians were fo over-awed with this, that tho' they wished well to the settling the succession, they The Dukes of Hadurst not openly declare it. milton and Athol led all those violent motions, and the whole nation was strangely inflamed.

The ministers were put to a great difficulty with the supply-bill, and the tack that was joined to it: If it was denied, the army could be no longer kept up: They had run fo far in arrear, that confidering the poverty of the country, that could not be carried on much longer. Some fuggested, that it should be proposed to the English ministry, to ad-

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vance the sublistence money, till better measures could be taken; but none of the Scotch ministry would confent to that. An army is reckoned to belong to those who pay it: So an army paid from England, would be called an English army: Nor was it possible to manage such a thing secretly. It was well known, that there was no money in the Scotch treasury to pay them, so if money were once brought into the treasury, how secretly soever, all men must conclude, that it came from England: And men's minds were then fo full of the conceit of independency, that if a fuspicion arose of any fuch practice, probably it would have occasioned tumults: Even the army was fo kindled with this, that it was believed, that neither officers nor foldiers would have taken their pay, if they had believed it came from England. It came then to this, that either the army must be disbanded, or the bill must pass: It is true, the army was a very small one, not above 3000; but it was fo ordered, that it was double or treble officer'd; fo that it could have been eafily encreased to a much greater number, if there had been occasion for it. The officers had served long, and were men of a good charácter: So, fince they were alarmed with an invasion, which both sides looked for, and the intelligence, which the court had from France, affured them it was intended; they thought the inconveniences arising from the tack might be remedied afterwards: But the breaking of the army was fuch a pernicious thing, and might end fo fatally, that it was not to be ventured on. Therefore by common consent, a letter was The mini wrote to the Queen, which was figned by all the sters there ministers there, in which they laid the whole matadvise the ter before her, every thing was stated and ballanced: All concluded in an humble advice to pass the bill. This was very heavy on the Lord Godolphin, on whose advice the Queen chiefly relied: He saw the ill consequences of breaking the army, and laying that kingdom open to an invalion, would

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fall on him, if he should, in contradiction to the advice given by the ministry of Scotland, have advised the Queen to reject the bill. This was under consultation in the end of July, when our matters abroad were yet in a great uncertainty; for tho' the victory at Schellemberg was a good step, yet the great decision was not then come: So he thought, considering the state of affairs, and the accidents that might happen, that it was the safest thing for the Queen to comply with the advices of those, to whom she trusted the affairs of that kingdom.

The Queen fent orders to pass the bill: It pass'd It was on the 6th of August, after the great battle was pass'd. over, but feveral days before the news of it came to us. When the act passed, copies of it were fent to England; where it was foon printed, by those who were uneasy at the Lord Godolphin's holding the white staff, and resolved to make use of this against him; for the whole blame of passing it was cast on him. It was not possible to prove, that he had advised the Queen to it: so some took it by another handle, and resolved to urge it against him, that he had not persuaded the Queen to reject it: Tho' that feemed a great stretch, for he being a stranger to that kingdom, it might have been liable to more objection, if he had prefumed to advise the Queen, to refuse a bill, pass'd in the Parliament of Scotland, which all the miniftry there advised her to pais.

Severe censures passed on this. It was said, that Censures the two kingdoms were now divided by law, and pass'd upthat the Scotch were putting themselves in a posture to defend it; and all saw by whose advices this was done: One thing, that contributed to keep up an ill humour in the Parliament of Scotland, was more justly imputed to him: The Queen had promised to send down to them all the examinations relating to the plot: If these had been sent down, probably in the first heat the matter might have been carried far against the Duke of Queensbury. But he,

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1704. who staid all the while at London, got it to be represented to the Queen, that the sending down these examinations, with the persons concerned in them, would run the fession into so much heat, and into fuch a length, that it would divert them quite from confidering the fuccession, and it might produce a tragical scene. Upon these suggestions, the Queen altered her resolution of sending them down; tho' repeated applications were made to her, both by the Parliament and by her ministers, to have them fent; yet no answer was made to these, nor was so much as an Excuse made, for not fending them. The Duke of Queenfbury having gained this point, got all his friends to join with the party that opposed the new ministry: This both defeated all their projects, and foftened the spirits of those, who were to fet against him, that in their first fury no stop could have been put to their proceedings: But now, the party that had defigned to ruin him, was fo much wrought on, by the affiftance that his friends gave them in this fession, that they refolved to preferve him.

This was the state of that nation, which was aggravated very odiously all England over: It was confidently, tho', as was afterwards known, very falfely reported, that great quantities of arms were brought over, and dispersed thro' the whole kingdom: And it being well known how poor the nation was at that time, it was faid, that those arms were paid for by other hands, in imitation of what it was believed cardinal Richelieu did, in the year 1638. Another thing was given out very maliciously, by the Lord Treasurer's enemies, that he had given directions under-hand, to hinder the declaring the fuccession, and that the secret of this was trusted to Johnstoun, who they said talked openly one way, and acted fecretly another; tho'l could never see a colour of truth in those reports. Great use was to be made of the affairs of Scotland; because there was no ground of complaint of any 0-

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thing in the administration at home: All the Duke of Marlborough's enemies faw his chief strength lay in the credit that the Lord Godolphin was in at home, while he was fo fuccessful abroad: So it being impossible to attack him, in such a course of glory, they laid their aims against the Lord Treasurer. The Tories resolved to attack him, and that disposed the Whigs to preserve him; and this was fo managed by them, that it gave a great turn to all our councils at home.

In the beginning of November, the fession of A session Parliament was opened: It might well be expected, of Parliathat after such a summer, the addresses of both England. houses would run in a very high strain: The House of Commons in their address put the successes by sea and land on a level, and magnified both in the fame expressions: But the House of Lords in their address took no notice of Rook nor of the sea. The Lower House of Convocation were resolved to follow the example of the House of Commons, and would have the sea and land both mentioned in the fame terms; but the Bishops would not vary from the pattern fet them by the House of Lords; so no address was made by the Convocation. The Commons agreed to every thing that the court propoled, for supporting the war another year; this was carried through with great dispatch and unanimity: So that the main business of the Session was foon over; all the money-bills were prepared and carried on in the regular method, without any obstruction: Those who intended to embroil matters, faw it was not adviseable to act above board, but to proceed more covertly.

The act against Occasional Conformity was again brought in, but moderated in several clauses: For those who prest it, were now resolved to bring the The occaterms as low as was possible, in order once to carry is again a bill upon that head. The opposition in the brought House of Commons made to it, was become so con- in; and

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be tack'd to a money bill.

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fiderable (for the defign was now more clearly difcerned) that it was carried in that house only by a voured to majority of fifty. When the bill was to be committed, it was moved, that it should be committed to the same Committee, which was preparing the bill for the land-tax: The defign of this was, that the one should be tacked to the other, and then the Lords would have been put under a great difficulty. If they should untack the bill, and separate one from the other; then the House of Commons would have infifted on a maxim, that was now fettled among them, as a fundamental principle never to be departed from, that the Lords cannot alter a money bill, but must either pass it or reject it, as it is fent to them: On the other hand, the Lords could not agree to any fuch tack, without departing from that folemn refolution, which was in their books, figned by most of them, never to admit of a tack to a money-bill; If they yielded now, they taught the House of Commons the way to impose any thing on them at their pleasure.

The party in the House of Commons put their whole strength to the carrying this point: They went further in their defign : That which was truly aimed at, by those in the secret, was to break the war, and to force a peace: They knew a bill with this tack could not pass in the House of Peers: Some Lords of their party told myself that they would never pass the bill with this tack, so by this means money would be ftopped: This would put all matters in great confusion both at home and abroad; and dispose our Allies, as despairing of any help from us, to accept of fuch terms as France would offer them: So here was an artful delign formed to break, at least to shake, the whole alliance. The court was very apprehensive of this, and the Lord Godolphin opposed it with much zeal: The party dislowned the design for some time, 'till they had brought up their whole ftrength,

and thought they were fure of a majority.

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The debate held long: Those who opposed it faid, this now aimed at was a change of the whole constitution; and was in effect turning it into a commonwealth: For it imported the denying, not only to the Lords, but to the Crown, the free use of their negative in the legislature; if this was once fettled, then as often as the publick occasions made a money-bill necessary, every thing that the majority in their house had a mind to, would be tacked to it. It is true some tacks had been made to money-bills in King Charles's time; but even these had still some relation to the money that was given: But here a bill, whose operation was only for one year, and which determined as foon as the four shillings in the pound was paid, was to have a perpetual law tacked to it, that must continue still in force, after the greatest part of the act was expired and dead: To all this, in answer, some precedents were opposed, and the necessity of the bill for the preservation of the Church was urged, which they faw was not like to pass, unless sent to the Lords lo accompanied; which some thought was very wittily pressed, by calling it a portion annexed to the Church, as in a marriage; and they faid they did not doubt but those of the court would bestir themselves to get it passed, when it was accompanied with two millions as its price.

Upon the division 134 were for the tack, and The tack 250 were against it: So that design was lost by was rethose, who had built all their hopes upon it, and jected. were now highly offended with some of their own party, who had by their opposition wrought themselves into good places, and forsook that interest, to which they owed their advancement: These, to redeem themselves with their old friends, seemed still zealous for the bill, which after went on coldly and slowly in the House of Commons, for they lost all hopes of carrying it in the House of Lords,

now that the mine they had laid was fprung.

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Debates' concerning Scotland.

While this was going on in the House of Com: mons, the debate about the Scotch act was taken up with great heat in the House of Lords: The ill effects that were like to follow upon it were opened, in very tragical strains: It was after much declaiming moved, that the Lords might pass some votes upon it. The Tories who preffed this, intended to add a fevere vote against all those who had advised it; and it was visible at whom this was aimed. The Whigs diverted this: They faid the putting a vote against an act passed in Scotland, looked like the claiming some superiority over them, which seemed very improper at that time, fince that kingdom was possessed with a national jealousy on this head, that would be much increased by such a proceeding: More moderate methods were therefore proposed and agreed to, in order to the making up of a breach in this island, with which they seemed to be then threatned. So an act was brought in, impowering the Queen to name commissioners to treat of a full union of both kingdoms, as foon as the Parliament of Scotland should pais an act to the same purpose: But if no such union should be agreed on, or if the same succession to the crown, with that of England, should not be enacted by day prefixed, then it was enacted that after that day no Scotchman, that was not refident in England or Ireland, or employed in the Queen's fervice by fea or land, should be esteemed a naturalborn subject of England: They added to this, a prohibition of the importation of Scotch cattle and the manufacture of Scotland: All this fell in the House of Commons, when fent down to them, because of the money-penalties, which were put in the leveral clauses of the bill. The Commons were resolved to adhere to a notion, that had now taken fuch root among them, that it could not be shaken, that the Lords could not put any fuch clause in a bill begun with them: This was wholly new; penalties upon transgressions could not be construed

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to be a giving of money: The Lords were clearly in possession of proceeding thus; so that the calling it in queftion, was an attempt on the share which the Lords had in the legislature: The Commons let this bill lie on the table, and began a new one to the fame purpose; it passed: And the following Christmas was the day prefixed for the Scotch to enact the fuccession, or on failure thereof, then this act was to have its effect. A great coldness appeared in many of the Commons, who used to be hot on less important occasions: They seemed not to defire that the Scotch should settle the succeffion: And it was visible, that some of them hoped, that the Lords would have used their bill, as they had used that sent down by the Lords: Many of them were less concerned in the fate of the because it diverted the censure, which they had intended to fix on the Lord Treasurer. Lords were aware of this, and passed the bill.

Those who wished well to the union, were afraid that the prohibition, and the declaring the Scots aliens after the day prefixed, would be looked on as threatnings: And they faw cause to apprehend, that ill-tempered men in that kingdom, would use this as a handle to divert that nation, which was already much foured, from hearkning to any motion, that might tend to promote the union, or the declaring the fuccession: It was given out by these, that this was an indignity done their kingdom, and that they ought not fo much as to treat with a nation, that threatned them in fuch a manner. The Marquis of Tweedale excused himself from serving longer; fo the Duke of Argyle, whose father was lately dead, was named to be fent down Commiffioner to hold a Parliament in Scotland: He was

then very young, and was very brave.

This being dispatched easier than was expected, Comthe Parliament went on to other business; com-plaints of plaints of an ill management both at the board of the Admiralty. the Prince's Council, and at fea rose very high:

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This House of Commons, during the whole continuance of the Parliament, never appointed a committee to look into those matters, which had been formerly a main part of their care: They faw things were ill conducted, but the chief managers of fea-affairs were men of their party, and that atoned for all faults, and made them unwilling to find them out, or to cenfure them: The truth was, the Prince was prevailed on to continue still in the Admiralty, by those who sheltered themselves under his name: Tho' this brought a great load on The Lords went on as they had the government. done the former fession, examining into all complaints: They named two committees, the one to examine the books of the Admiralty, the other to consider the proceedings at sea: No progress was made in the first of these; for tho' there was a great deal fuggested in private, yet since this seemed to be complaining of the Prince, none would appear directly against him: But the other afforded matter enough, both for enquiry and censure: The most important, and that which had the worst consequences was, that tho' there were 22 ships appointed for cruifing, yet they had followed that fervice so remissly, and the orders sent them were so languid, and so little urgent, that three diligent cruifing ships could have performed all the services done by that numerous fleet: This was made out in a scheme, in which all the days of their being out at fea were reckoned up, which did not exceed what three cruifers might have performed. It did not appear, whether this was only the effect of floth or ignorance, or if there lay any defigned treachery at bottom: It feemed very plain, that there was treachery somewhere, at least among the underofficers: For a French privateer being taken, they found among his papers instructions sent him by his owners, in which he was directed to lie in some stations, and to avoid others: And it happened that this agreed so exactly with the orders sent from the Admiralty, admiralty, that it feemed that could not be by chance, but that the directions were fent, upon fight of the orders. The Queen began this winter to come to the house of Lords upon great occasions to hear their debates, which as it was of good use for her better information, fo it was very ferviceable in bringing the house into better order. The first time she came, was when the debate was taken up concerning the Scotch act: she knew the Lord Treafurer was aimed at by it, and she diverted the storm by her endeavours, as well as the restrained it by her

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She came likewise thither to hear the debates up- The bill on the bill against occasional conformity, which was against ocfent up by the commons; if it had not been for the cafional conformi-Queen's being present, there would have been no ty debated long debate on that head, for it was scarce possible and reto fay much, that had not been formerly faid; but jected by to give the Queen full information, fince it was fup- the Lords. poled, that the had heard that matter only on one fide, it was refolved to open the whole matter in her hearing: the topicks most insisted on were, the quiet that we enjoyed by the toleration, on which head the severities of former reigns were laid open, both in their injustice, cruelty, and their being managed only to advance popery, and other bad defigns: the peaceable behaviour of the diffenters, and the zeal they expressed for the Queen, and her government, was also copiously set forth; while others shewed a malignity to it. That which was chiefly urged was, that every new law made in the matter, altered the state of things, from what it was, when the act for toleration first passed; this gave the dillenters an alarm, they might from thence justly conclude, that one step would be made after another, 'till the whole effect of that act should be overturned. It did not appear from the behaviour of any among them, that they were not contented with the toleration they enjoyed, or that they were carrying on defigns against the church: in that case it might

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1705.

be reasonable to look for a farther security, but no. thing tending that way, was fo much as pretended: all went on jealousies and fears, the common topicks of fedition. On the other hand, to support the bill, old stories were brought up to shew, how reftless and unquiet that fort of men had been in former times. When it came to the question, whether the bill should be read a second time or not, it went for the negative by a majority of 20 Lords.

practices.

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Another debate, that brought the Queen to the house, was concerning Watson, late Lord bishop of St. David's: his bufinefs had been kept long on foot in the courts below, by all the methods of delay that lawyers could invent: after five years pleading the concluding judgment was given in the Exchequer, that he had no right to the temporalities of that bishoprick: and that being affirmed in the Exchequerchamber, it was now by a writ of error, brought before the Lords, in the last refort: but as the house feemed now to be fet, he had no mind to let it go to a final decision: so he delayed the affigning the errors of the judgment, 'till the days were lapfed, in which, according to a standing order, errors ought to be affigned, upon a writ of error: in default of which, the record was to be fent back. He fuffered the time to lapfe, tho' particular notice was ordered to be given him, on the last day, in which, according to the standing order, he might have affigned his errors: and the house fate that day some hours on purpose waiting for it. Some weeks after that, when the fession was so near an end, that he thought his cause could not be heard during the fession, and so must in course have been put off to another fession, he petitioned for leave to assign his errors: this was one of the most folemn orders, that related to the judicature of the Lords, and had been the most constantly stood to: it was not therefore thought reasonable to break through it, in favour of fo bad a man, of whom they were all ashamed, if parties could have any shame: he had affected, 0-

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in every step he had made, to feek out all possible 1705. delays, for keeping the fee still void, which by reafon of a bad bishop and a long vacancy, was fallen into great diforder: yet after all this, he had still by law the benefit of a writ of error, which he might

bring in any subsequent session of parliament.

Upon this the Queen resolved to fill that see: Some proand fhe promoted to it, the celebrated Dr. Bull, motions who had writ the learnedest treatise, that this age in the had produced, of the doctrine of the primitive church. church concerning the Trinity: this had been fo well received all Europe over, that in an affembly general of the clergy of France, the bishop of Meaux was defired to write over to a correspondent he had in London, that they had fuch a fense of the service he had done their common faith, that upon it they fent him their particular thanks; I read the letter, and fo I can deliver it for a certain truth, how uncommon foever it may feem to be. The Queen had a little before this promoted Dr. Beveridge to the fee of St. Afaph, who had shewed himself very learned in ecclefiaftical knowledge. They were both pious and devout men, but were now declining; both of them being old, and not like to hold out long. Soon after this the fee of Lincoln became vacant by that bishop's death: Dr. Wake was after fome time promoted to it: A man eminently learned, an excellent writer, a good preacher, and which is above all, a man of an exemplary life.

A defign was formed in this fession of parliament, Defigns but there was not strength enough to carry it on at with relathis time, the earl of Rochester gave a hint of it in tion to the house of Lords, by faying that he had a motion the electoof great consequence to the security of the nation, Hanover. which he would not make at this time, but would do it when next they should meet together. He faid no more to the house, but in private difcourse he owned it was for bringing over the electorels of Hanover to live in England: upon this I will digrefs a little, to open the defign and the

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views, which he and some others might have in 1705. this motion.

> It feemed not natural to believe that a party, which had been all along backward at best, and cold in every step that was made in settling the succession in that family, should become all on the sudden, fuch converts as to be zealous for it; fo it was not an unreasonable jealousy to suspect, that somewhat lay hid under it: It was thought that they either knew, or did apprehend, that this would not be acceptable to the Queen; and they, being highly difpleased with the measures she took, went into this defign both to vex her, and in hopes that a faction might arise out of it, which might breed a distraction in our councils, and some of them might hope thereby to revive the Prince of Wales's pretenfions. They reckoned fuch a motion would be popular: and if either the court or the whigs, on whom the court was now beginning to look more favourably, should oppose it, this would cast a load on them as men, who after all the zeal they had exprefied for that fuccession, did now, upon the hopes of favour at court, throw it up: and those who had been hitherto confidered as the enemies of that house, might hope by this motion to overcome all the prejudices, that the nation had taken up against them; and they might create a merit to themselves in the minds of that family, by this early zeal, which they resolved now to express for it.

This was fet on foot among all the party: But the more fincere among them could not be prevailed on to act so false a part, tho' they were told this was the likelieft way, to advance the pretended

Prince of Wales's interests.

The house of commons ry.

I now come to give an account of the last business of this fession, with which the parliament ended; it was formerly told, what proceedings had been at ted to pri- law upon the election at Ailesbury; the judgment fon fome that the Lords gave in that matter was executed, and of Ailefou- upon that five others of the inhabitants brought their actions n

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actions against the constables, upon the same 1705. grounds. The House of Commons looked on this as a great contempt of their votes, and they voted this a breach of privilege, to which they added a new, and 'till then unheard-of crime, that it was contrary to the declaration that they had made; upon that they fent their messenger for these five men, and committed them to Newgate, where they lay three months prisoners; they were all the while well-fupplied and much vifited; fo they lay without making any application to the House of Commons: it was not thought advisable to move in such a matter, 'till all the money-bills were paffed; then motions were made, in the interval between the terms, upon the statute for a Habeas Corpus; but the statute relating only to commitments by the royal authority, this did not lie within it.

When the term came, a motion was made in the Queen's bench upon the common-law, in behalf of the priloners for a Habeas Corpus; the lawyers who moved it, produced the commitment, in which their offence was fer forth, that they had claimed the benefit of the law in opposition to a vote of the House of Commons to the contrary; they faid the subjects were governed by the laws, which they might, and were bound to know, and not by the votes of a house of parliament, which they were neither bound to know, nor to obey: three of the Judges were of opinion, that the court could take no cognizance of that matter; the Chief-Justice was of another mind; he thought a general warrant of commitment for breach of privilege was of the nature of an execution; and fince the ground of the commitment was specified in the warrant, he thought it plainly appeared, that the priloners had been guilty of no legal offence, and that therefore they ought to be difcharged: he was but one against three, so the priloners were remanded.

Upon that they moved for a writ of error, to bring the matter before the Lords; that was only to Vol. IV.

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1705.

be come at, by petitioning the Queen to order it: The Commons were alarmed at this, and made an address to the Queen, fetting forth, that they had paffed all the money-bills, therefore they hoped her Majesty would not grant this. Ten Judges agreed, that in civil matters a petition for a writ of error was a petition of right, and not of grace; two of them only were of another mind; it was therefore thought a very strange thing, which might have most pernicious consequences, for a House of Commons to defire the Queen, not to grant a petition of right, which was plainly a breach of law and of her coronation-oath; they also took on them to affirm, that the writ did not lie; tho' that was clearly the work of the Judicature to declare, whether it lay or not, and that was unquestionably the right of the Lords; they only could determine that; the supplying the publick occasions was a strange confideration to be offered the Queen, as an argument to perfuade her to act against law: as if they had pretended that they had bribed her to infringe the law; and to deny justice: Money given for publick fervice was given to the country, and to themfelves, as properly as to the Queen.

The Queen answered their address, and in it said, that the stopping proceedings at law, was a matter of fuch confequence, that she must consider well of it: This was thought fo cold, that they returned her no thanks for it; tho' a well-composed House of Commons would certainly have thanked her, for that tender regard to law and justice. The House of Commons carried their anger farther; they ordered the prisoners to be taken out of Newgate, and to be kept by their ferjeant; they also ordered the lawyers and the follicitors to be taken into cuftody, for appearing in behalf of the prisoners: These were such strange and unheard-of proceedings, that by them the minds of all people were much alienated from the House of Commons. But the prisoners were under fuch management, and fo well supportS

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rted, ed, that they would not submit nor ask pardon of 1705. the house; it was generally believed, that they were supplied and managed by the Lord Wharton; they peritioned the House of Lords for relief; and the Lords resolved to proceed in the matter, by sure and regular steps: They first came to some general resolutions; that neither house of parliament could assume or create any new privilege, that they had not been formerly possessed of; that subjects claiming their rights in a course of law, against those who had no privilege, could not be a breach of privilege of either houle; that the imprisoning the men of Ailefbury, for acting contrary to a declaration made by the House of Commons, was against law; that the committing their friends and their counsel for affifting them, in order to the procuring their liberty in a legal way, was contrary to law; and that the writ of error could not be denied without breaking the Magna Charta and the laws of England. Thele resolutions were communicated to the House of Commons at a conference.

They made a long answer to them: In it they let forth, that the right of determining elections was lodged only with them, and that therefore they only could judge who had a right to elect; they only were the Judges of their own privileges, the Lords could not intermeddle in it; they quoted very copiously the proceedings in the year 1675, upon an and and the appeal brought against a member of their House; they faid their prisoners ought only to apply themlelves to them for their liberty; and that no motion had ever been made for a writ of error in fuch a cale. Upon this fecond conference according to form, the matter was brought to a free conference, where the point was fully argued on both fides; the city and the body of the nation were on the Lords lide in the matter. Upon this, the Lords drew up a full representation of the whole thing, and laid it before the Queen, with an earhest prayer to her Majesty, to give order for the writ of error; this

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was thought so well drawn, that some preferred it 1704. to those of the former sessions; it contained a long and clear deduction of the whole affair, with great decency of style, but with many heavy reflections

on the House of Commons.

By this time the whole business of the session was brought to a conclusion; for the Lords, who had the money-bills, would not pass them, 'till this was ended: They carried their representation to the Queen, who in answer to it told them, that she would have granted the writ of error, but the fawit was necessary to put a present conclusion to the selfion. This being reported to the House, was looked on by them as a clear decision in their favour; therefore they ordered their humble thanks to be immediately returned to her Majesty for it: An hour after that, the Queen came to the House of Lords, and passed all the bills, and ended the selfion, with a speech full of thanks for the supplies so readily granted; she took notice with regret of the effects of the ill-humour and animofity, that had appeared; and spoke of the narrow escape we had made, which she hoped would teach all persons to avoid fuch dangerous experiments for the future; this was universally understood to be meant of the Tack, as indeed it could be meant of nothing elfe.

liament.

- Thus this fession, and with it this Parliament of the Par. came to an end: it was no small bleffing to the Queen, and to the nation, that they got well out of fuch hands: They had discovered, on many occalions, and very manifestly, what lay at bottom with most of them; but they had not skill enough to know how to manage their advantages, and to make use of their numbers; the constant successes, with which God had bleffed the Queen's reign, put it out of their power to compass that, which was aimed at by them; the forcing a peace, and of consequence the delivering all up to France. Sir Chriitopher Musgrave, the wifest man of the party, died before the last session; and by their conduct after lit

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after his death, it appeared, that they wanted his direction: He had been at the head of the opposition, that was made in the last reign from the beginning to the end; but he gave up many points of great importance in the critical minute, for which I had good reason to believe, that he had 12000 pounds from the late King, at different times: At his death it appeared, that he was much richer, than by any visible computation he could be valued at: Which made some cast an imputation on his memory, as if he had received great sums even from France.

I shall conclude the relation of this Parliament Bills that with an account of fome things, that were begun, were not but not perfected by them: There was a bill offered passed. for the naturalization of some hundreds of Frenchmen, to which the Commons added a clause, difabling the persons so naturalized, from voting in elections of Parliament; the true reason of this was, because it was observed that the French among us gave in all elections their votes, for those who were most zealous against France: and yet, with an apparent difingenuity, some gave it as a reason for fuch a clause, that they must be supposed so partial to the interests of their own country, that it was not fit to give them any share in our government. The Lords looked on this as a new attempt, and the clause added was a plain contradiction to the body of the bill, which gave them all the rights of natural-born subjects; and this took from them the chief of them all, the chufing their representatives in Parliament: They would not agree to it, and the Commons resolved not to depart from it; to without coming to a free conference, the bill fell with the fession.

Another bill was begun by the Lords against the Papists: It was occasioned by several complaints brought from many parts of the kingdom, chiefly from Cheshire, of the practices and insolence of those of that religion: So a bill was ordered to

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1705. be brought in, with clauses in it, that would have made the act, passed against them four years before, prove effectual; which for want of these, has hitherto been of no effect at all: This passed in the House of Lords, and was sent to the Commons. They had no mind to pass it; but to avoid the ill effects of their refusing such a bill, they added a clause to it, containing severe penalties on Papifts who should once take the oaths, and come into the communion of our church, if they should be guilty of any occasional conformity with Popery afterwards: They fancied that this of occasional conformity was fo odious to the Lords, that every clause that condemned it, would be rejected by them: But when they came to understand that the Lords were refolved to agree to the clause, they would not put it to that hazard: So the bill lay

on their table, and flept 'till the prorogation. A general felf-denying bill was offered in the House of Commons, by those very men, who in the first Session of Parliament, when they hoped for places themselves, had opposed the motion of fuch a bill with great indignation: Now the scene was a little altered, they faw they were not like to be favourites, so they pretended to be Patriots. This looked so strangely in them, that it was rejected: But another bill of a more restrained nature passed, disabling some officers, particularly those that were concerned in the prize-office, from ferving in Parliament: To this a general clause was added, that disabled all who held any office, that had been created fince the year 1684, or any office that should be created for the future, from fitting in Parliament: This passed among them, and was fent to the Lords; who did not think fit to agree to so general a clause, but consented to a particular difability, put on fome offices by name: The Commons did not agree to this alteration; they would have all or nothing: So the bill fell,

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The conclusion of the Parliament fet the whole 1705. nation in a general ferment; both fides studied how to dispose people's minds in the new elections. with great industry and zeal: All people looked on the affairs of France, as reduced to fuch a state, that the war could not run beyond the period of the next Parliament: A well-chosen one must prove a publick bleffing, not only to England, but to all Europe; as a bad one would be fatal to us at home, as well as to our allies abroad: The affairs of France were run very low: All methods of railing money were now exhausted, and could afford no great supplies: So, in imitation of our Exchequer-bills, they began to give out mintbills; but they could not create that confidence, which is justly put in parliamentary credit. The French had hopes from their party here in England, and there was a disjointing in the feveral provinces of the United Netherlands: But as long as we were firm and united, we had a great influence on the States, at least to keep things entire during the war: So it was visible that a good election in England, must give such a prospect for three years, as would have a great influence on all the affairs of Europe.

I must, before I end the relation of the Par-Proceedliament, fay fomewhat of the Convocation, that at- ings in the tended upon it, tho' it was then so little con-Convocalidered, that scarce any notice was taken of them, and they deserved that no mention should be made of them. The lower house continued to proceed with much indecent violence: They still held their intermediate fessions, and brought up injurious and reflecting addresses to the upper house, which gave a very large exercise to the patience and forbearance of the Archbishop and Bishops; the Archbishop, after he had born long with their perversenels, and faw no good effect of it, proceeded to an ecclefialtical monition against their intermediate meetings: This put a stop to that, for they would

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not venture on the censures, that must in course follow, if no regard was had to the monition. At the final prorogation, the Archbishop dismissed them with a wife well-composed speech; he laid open to them their indecent behaviour, and the many wrong steps they had made; to this he added a fevere, but grave reprimand, with much good advice. The governing men among them were headstrong and factious, and designed to force themselves into preferments, by the noise they made, and by the ill humour that they endeavoured to fpread among the clergy, who were generally foured, even with relation to the Queen herfelf, beyond

what could be imagined possible. Now having given a full relation of our counfels and other affairs at home, I shall next consider the progress of those abroad. The first operation of the campaign was before Gibraltar: Leak was failing from Lisbon thither, and as he went out he met Dilks, who was fent from England, to encrease his force; by this addition he had a strong

fleet of 30 men of war, so he held on his course The Siege with all expedition, hoping to find Pointy in the of Gibral- bay of Gibraltar; but a great storm had blown all, tar raised. but five ships, up the Mediterranean. Pointy remained only with these, when he was surprised by Leak, who did quickly overpower him, and took three capital ships; the other two, that were the greatest of them, were run ashore, and burnt near Marbella. Leak failed to the Levant, to fee if he could overtake those ships, that the wind had driven from the rest; but after a fruitless pursuit for some days, he returned back to Gibraltar: That garrison was now so well supplied, that the Spaniards loft all hopes of being able to take it; fo they raised the Siege, turning it into a very feeble blockade. This advantage came at the fame time that Verue was loft, to ballance it.

Now the campaign was to be opened, the Duke of Marlborough designed that the Moselle should

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ke ild be be the scene of action, and care had been taken to 1705. lay up Magazines of all forts in Triers: The States confented, that he should carry the greatest part The Duke of their army to the Mofelle, and refolved to lie borough on the defensive upon their own frontiers; for they marched reckoned that how strong soever the Elector of Ba- to Triers. yaria's army was at that time, yet whenfoever France should be pressed, with so great a force as they reckoned would be on the Moselle, he would be ordered to fend fuch detachments thither, that his army would be quickly diminished, and so would not have the superior strength long. Prince Lewis of Baden feemed to like this scheme of the campaign fo well, and had concurred fo cordially in the concert of it, during the winter, that no doubt was made of his being both able and willing, to enter upon this new scene of the war: But as the Duke of Marlborough was fetting out, depending on his concurrence, he received an express from him, excusing himself both on his own want of health, and because the force he had about him was not confiderable, nor was that, which he expected, like to come to him fo foon as might be wished for. This could not ftop the Duke of Marlborough, who had fet his heart on opening the campaign in those parts, and had great hopes of success: So he resolved to push the matter, as far as he could. He went to the Prince of Baden to concert matters with him; whose ill health seemed only to be a pretence: It was true, that the Princes and circles of the empire had not fent in their quotas, but it appeared that there was already ftrengh enough, in conjunction with the army, that the Duke of Marlborough was to bring, to advance, and open the campaign with great advantage, at least 'till detachments should come from other parts: The Prince of Baden at last consented to this, and promiled to follow, with all the forces he could

1705. Of The Duke of Marlborough was fo fatisfied with these affurances, that he came back to his army, Expeding and quickened their march, fo that he brought the Prince them to Triers; and he advanced eight leagues further, through fo many defiles, that the French might eafily have made his march both dangerous and difficult. He posted himself very near Mareschal Villars's camp, not doubting but that the Prince of Baden would quickly follow him: Inflead of that, he repeated his former excuse of want of health and force. That which gave the worst fuspicions of him was, that it appeared plainly, that the French knew what he intended to do, and their management shewed they depended on it; for they ordered no detachments to encrease M. Villars's army: On the contrary, the Elector of Bavaria, having the fuperior force, pressed the States on their frontier. Huy was belieged and taken, after it had beyond all expectation held out ten days: Liege was attacked next; the town was taken, but the citadel held out. Upon this, the States fent to the Duke of Marlborough to march back with all possible haste; he had then eat up the forage round about him, and was out of all hope, of the Prince of Baden's coming to join him; fo he faw the necessity of marching back, after he had lost some weeks in a fruitless attempt: He made such hafte in his march, that he loft many of his men in the way, by fatigue and defertion; the French gave him no trouble, neither while he lay to near their camp, nor when he drew off, to march away with fo much hafte. To compleat Who fail- the ill conduct of the Germans, those who were left with the Magazines at Triers, pretending danger, destroyed them all, and abandoning Triers,

ed him.

retired back to the Rhine. The Prince of Baden's conduct through this whole matter was liable to great censure: The

worst suspicion was, that he was corrupted by the French. Those who did not carry their censure so th

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far, attributed his acting as he did to his pride, and thought he, envying the Duke of Marlborough, and apprehending that the whole glory of the campaign would be ascribed to him, since he had the stronger army, chose rather to defeat the whole defrom, than fee another carry away the chief honour of any fuccesses, that might have happened. The Duke of Marlborough came back in good time to raise the slege of the citadel of Liege; and he retook Huy in three days: After that, in conjunction with the Dutch army, he advanced towards the French lines: He for fome days amused them with The Duke feints; at last he made the attack, where he had of Marldefigned it, and broke through the lines, and gave borough a great defeat to the body of the French that de-broke fended them, with the loss only of seven men on French his fide; and fo without more opposition he came lines. very near Louvain, the Dyle running between his camp and the town: A deluge of rain fell thatnight, and swelled the Dyle so, that it was not posfible to pass it. This gave the French time to recover themselves out of the first consternation, that the advantages he had gained put them in: After a few days, when the passing the Dyle was practicable, the Duke of Marlborough gave orders for it: But the French were posted with so much advantage on the other fide, that the Dutch Generals The perfuaded the deputies of the States, that they must Dutch run a great risque, if they should venture to force would not venture a the passage. The Duke of Marlborough was not a battle. little mortified with this, but he bore it calmly, and moved another way. After some few motions, another occasion was offered, which he intended to lay hold on: Orders were given to force the passage; but a motion through a wood, that was thought necessary to support that, was not believed practicable: So the deputies of the States were again possessed with the danger of the attempt; and they thought their affairs were in so good a con-的形式。这样这个人都可以

1705. dition, that such a desperate undertaking, as that feemed to be, was not to be ventured on.

This was very uneafy to the Duke, but he was forced to submit to it, tho' very unwillingly: All agreed that the enterprize was bold and doubtful; some thought it must have succeeded, though with some loss at first; and that if it had succeeded, it might have proved a decisive action; others indeed looked on it as too desperate. A great breach was like to arise upon this, both in the army, and among the States at the Hague, and in the towns of Holland, in Amsterdam in particular; where the burghers came in a body to the Stadthouse, complaining of the deputies, and that the Duke of

Marlborough had not fuller powers.

I can give no judgment in so nice a point, in which military men were of very different opinions, some justifying the Duke of Marlborough, as much as others cenfured him: He shewed great temper on this occasion, and though it gave him a very fenfible trouble, yet he fet himfelf to calm all the heat, that was raised upon it. The campaign in Flanders produced nothing after this, but fruitless marches, while our troops were subsisted in the enemy's country, 'till the time came of going into winter-quarters. Prince Lewis's backwardness, and the caution of the deputies of the States, made this campaign less glorious than was expected; for I never knew the Duke of Marlborough go out fo full of hopes, as in the beginning of it: But things had not answered his expectation.

The Emperor's death and character.

This fummer the Emperor Leopold died: He was the most knowing and the most virtuous Prince of his communion; only he wanted the judgment that was necessary for conducting great affairs, in such critical times: He was almost always betrayed, and yet he was so firm to those, who had the address to infinuate themselves into his good opinion and considence, that it was not possible to let him see those miscarriages, that ruined his af-

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fairs fo often, and brought them sometimes near the last extremities: Of these every body else seemed more fenfible than he himfelf. He was devout and strict in his religion, and was so implicit in his submission to those priests, who had credit with him. the Jesuits in particular, that he owed all his trous bles to their counfels. The perfecution they began in Hungary raised one great war; which gave the Turks occasion to beliege Vienna, by which he was almost entirely swallowed up: This danger did not produce more caution; after the peace of Carlowitz, there was fo much violence and oppression in the government of Hungary, both of Papists and Protestants, that this raised a second war there, which, in conjunction with the revolt of the Elector of Bavaria, brought him a fecond time very near utter ruin: Yet he could never be prevailed on, either to punish, or fo much as to suspect those, who had so fatally entangled his affairs ; that without foreign aid nothing could have extricated them. He was naturally merciful to a fault, for even the punishment of criminals was uneasy to him: Yet all the cruelty in the perfecution of hereticks feemed to raife no relenting in him. It could not but be observed by all Protestants, how much the ill influence of the Popish Religion appeared in him, who was one of the mildest and most virtuous Princes of the age, fince cruelty in the matters of religion had a full course under him, though it was as contrary to his natural temper, as it was to his interests, and proved oftner than once almost tatal to all his affairs. His fon Joseph, elected King of the Romans, succeeded him both in his hereditary and elective dignities: It was given out, that he would apply himself much to business, and would avoid those rocks on which his father had itruck, and almost split; and correct those errors to which his father's eafinefs had exposed him: He promised to those ministers, that the Queen and the States had in his court, that he would offer all

reasonable terms to the Hungarians: And he confented to their fetting a treaty on foot, in which they were to be the mediators, and become the guarantees for the observance of such articles, as should be agreed on; and he gave great hopes, that he would not continue in that subjection to the priefts, with which his father had been captiin Humoury railed one great war; which ga bestay

He defired to confer with the Duke of Marlborough, and to concert all affairs with him: The Queen confented to this, and the Duke went to Vienna, where he was treated with great freedom and confidence, and he had all affurances given him, that could be given in words: He found, that the Emperor was highly diffatisfied with the Prince of Baden, but he had fuch credit in the Empire, especially with the circles of Suabia and Franconia, that it was necessary to bear with that, which could not be helped. The Duke of Marlborough returned through the hereditary dominions to Berlin, where he had learned fo perfectly to accommodate himfelf to that King's temper, that he fucceeded in every thing he proposed, and renewed all treaties for one year longer. He came from thence to the court of Hanover, and there he gave them full affurances of the Queen's adhering firmly to their interests, in maintaining the fuccession to the crown in their family, with which the Elector was fully fatisfied: But it appeared that the Electoress had a mind, to be invited over to England. From thence he came back to Holland, and it was near the end of the year before he came over to England. Thus I have cast all that relates to him, in one continued feries, though it ran out into a course of many months! who be been sent

The German army was not brought together be-Germany. fore August: It was a very brave one, yet it did not much; the French gave way, and retired before them: Haguenaw and some other places were left by the French, and possessed by the Imperialists: -201

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A blockade was laid to Fort Lewis. But nothing .1705. was done by that noble army, equal either to their numbers and strength, or to the reputation that the Prince of Baden had formerly acquired. This was contrary to the general expectation; for it was at attach A thought, that being at the head of fo great an army, he would have studied to have fignalized himself, if it had been but to rival the glory, that the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene had acthough the Larl of Gallway did all that when the

Prince Eugene had a hard time in Italy: He had And in a weak army, and it was both ill-provided and ill-Italy. paid he was long thut up within the country of Bergamo; at last he broke through to Culano; where there was a very hot action between him and the Duke of Vendofme; both fides pretended they had the victory, yet the Duke of Vendosme repassed the river, and the Imperiod as kept the field of battle. The French threatned Turin with a fiege, but they began with Chivas, which held out fome months, and was at last abandoned; the Duke of Feuillade commanded the army near Turin, and feemed to dispose every thing in order to a fiege; but the defign was turned upon Nice, tho late in the year: They made a brave reliftance for many weeks; in December they were forced to capitulate, and the place was demolished by the enchance nor on any of the antrigues that dans

The firmness, that the Duke of Savoy expressed under all these losses, was the wonder of all Europe; he had now but a finall army of 8000 foot and 4000 horfe, and had scarce territory enough to support thefe; he had no confiderable places left him but Turin and Coni: But he feemed resolved to be driven out of all, rather than abandon the alliance. His Dutchess with all the clergy, and indeed all his lubjects, prayed him to fubmit to the necessity of his affairs; nothing could shake him; he admitted none of his Bishops nor Clergy into his Councils, and as his Envoy the Count Briancon told me, he

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1705. had no certain Father-Confessor, but sent sometimes to the Dominicans, and fometimes to the Francifcans for a prieft, when he intended to go to conefection. I reberied when the total accounted in some

Affairs in and turn next to Spain, which was this year a scene of most important transactions: The first campaign in Portugal before the hot feafon, produced nothing: The fecond campaign feemed to promife fomewhat, but the conduct was fo feeble, that though the Earl of Gallway did all that was posfible, to put things in a good posture, yet he saw a disposition in the ministers, and in their whole management, that made him often despair, and wish himself out of the service. Fagel, that commanded the Dutch forces, acted in every thing in opposition to him, and it was visible that the ministers did fecretly encourage that, by which they excused themselves: and the lar erielists especialth

and army fent to Spain.

King Charles was fo difgusted with these proceedings, that he was become quite weary of flaying in Portugal: So when the fleet of the allies came to Lifbon with an army on board, of above 5000 men, commanded by the Earl of Peterborough, he resolved to go aboard, and to try his fortune with them. The Almirante of Caftile died about that time; some thought that was a great loss; though others did not fet so high a value upon him, nor on any of the intrigues that were among the Grandees at Madrid: They were indeed offended with feveral small matters in King Philip's conduct, and with the afcendant, that the French had in all their councils; for they faw every thing was directed by orders fent from Verfailles, and that their King was really but a Viceroy: They were also highly provoked at some innovations made in the ceremonial, which they valued above more important matters; many feemed difgusted at that conduct, and withdrew from the court. The Marquis of Leganes was confidered, as most active in infusing jealousies and a dislike of the Goberi

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vernment into the other Grandees, so he was seized 1705. on, and fent prisoner to Navarre; the Grandees, in all their conduct, shewed more of a haughty sullennels in maintaining their own privileges, than of a generous resolution to free their country from the flavery, under which it was fallen; they feemed neither to have heads capable of laying any folid deligns, for shaking off the yoke, nor hearts brave enough to undertake it.

Our fleet failed from Lisbon with King Charles; they stopt at Gibraltar; and carried along with them the Prince of Hesse, who had been so long Governor of Barcelona, that he knew both the tempers, and the strength, and importance of the place. The first design of this expedition was concerted with the Duke of Savoy; and the forces they had on board, were either to join him, or to make an attempt on Naples or Sicily, as should be found most adviseable: There were agents employed in different parts of Spain, to give an account of the disposition people were in, and of what deemed most practicable. A body of men role in Catalonia about Vick: Upon the knowledge King Charles had of this, and upon other advertilements that were lent to our Court, of the dilpofitions of those of that principality, the orders which King Charles defired were fent; and brought by a runner, that was dispatched from the Queen to the fleet: So the fleet steered to the coast of Catalonia, to try what could be done there. The Earl of Peterborough, who had fet his heart on Italy, and on Prince Eugene, was not a little displeased with this, as appeared in a long letter from him, which the Lord Treasurer shewed me.

They landed not far from Barcelona, and were They joined with many Miquelets and others of the coun-try; these were good at plundering, but could not celona. lubmit to a regular discipline, nor were they willing to expose themselves to dangerous services. Barcelona had a garrison of 5000 men in it; these VOL. IV.

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were commanded by officers, who were entirely in the interests of King Philip; it seemed a very unreasonable thing to undertake the siege of such a place, with fo small a force; they could not depend on the raw and undisciplined multitudes, that came in to join them, who if things fucceeded not in their hands, would foon abandon them, or perhaps study to merit a pardon, by cutting their throats. A council of war was called, to confult on what could be proposed and done; Stanhope, who was one of them, told me, that both English and Dutch were all of opinion, that the fiege could not be undertaken, with so small a force; those within being as strong as they were, nor did they fee any thing else worth the attempting: They therefore thought that no time was to be loft, but that they were all to go again on board, and to consider what course was next to be taken, before the feafon were fpent, when the fleet would be obliged to return back again, and if they could not fix themselves any where before that time, they must fail back with the seet. The Prince of Hesse only was of opinion, that they ought to fit down before Barcelona; he faid, he had fecret intelligence of the good affections of many in the town, who were well-known to him, and on whom he relied, and he undertook to answer for their success: This could not fatisfy those who knew nothing of his fecrets, and fo could only judge of things by what appeared to them.

The King preffed

The debate lasted some hours: In conclusion, the King himself spoke near half an hour; he rethe fiege. furned the whole debate, he answered all the objections that were made against the siege; and treated every one of those who had made them, as he anfwered them, with particular civilities; he supported the truth of what the Prince of Hesse had afferted, as being known to himself; he said, in the state in which his affairs then stood, nothing could be proposed that had not great difficulties in n

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it, all was doubtful, and much must be put to ha- 1705. zard; but this feemed lefs dangerous than any other thing that was proposed: Many of his subjects had come and declared for him, to the hazard of their lives; it became him therefore to let them fee, that he would run the same hazard with them: he defired that they would ftay to long with him. 'till fuch attempts should be made, that all the world might be convinced, that nothing could be done, and he hoped that till-that appeared, they would not leave him; he added, that if their orders did oblige them to leave him, yet he could not leave his own subjects: Upon this they resolved to fit down before Barcelona. They were all amazed to see so young a Prince, so little practised in businels, argue in lo nice a point, with lo much force, and conclude with fuch heroical refolutions. This proved happy in many respects; it came to be known afterwards, that the Catalans and Miquelets, who had joined them, hearing that they were relolved to abandon them, and go back to their ships, had resolved, either out of resentment, or that they might merit their pardon, to murder as many of them as they could. When this fmall army fate down before Barcelona, they found they were too weak to beliege it; they could scarce mount their cannon: When they came to examine their stores, they found them very defective; and far short of the quantities that by their lists they expected to find; whether this flowed from treachery or carelessness, I will not determine; there is much of both in all our offices. It foon appeared that the intelligence was true, concerning the inclinations of those in the town, their affections were entire for King Charles: But they were over-awed by the garrison, and by Velasco, who as well as the Duke of Popoli, who had the chief command, was devoted to the interests of King Philip. Delerters came daily from the town and brought them intelligence: The most considerable thing was, that tort

Fort

1705. fort Montjuy was very ill guarded, it being thought above their strength to make an attempt on it; so it was concluded that all the hopes of reducing Barcelona lay in the fuccess of their design on that fort. Two bodies were ordered to march fecretly that night, and to move towards the other lide of Barcelona, that the true design might not be suspected, for all the hopes of success lay in the fecrecy of the march. The first body confished of 800, and both the Prince of Hesse and the Earl of Peterborough led them: The other body confifted of 600, who were to follow these at some distance; and were not to come above half way up the hill, till further order: Stanhope led this body, from whom I had this account. They drew up with them some small field-pieces and mortars; they had taken a great compais, and had marched all night, and were much fatigued by the time that they had gained the top of the hill; three hundred of them, being commanded to another fide of the fort, were separated from the rest, and mistaking their way, fell into the hands of a body of men, fent up from the town to reinforce the garrison in the fort: before they were separated, the whole body had attacked the out-works, and carried them; but while the Prince of Heffe was leading on his men he received a shot in his body, upon which he fell; yet he would not be carried off, but continued too long in the place giving ofders, and died in a few hours, much and justy lamented. The Governor of the fort, feeing a fmall body in possession of the out-works, resolved to fally out upon them, and drew up 400 men in order to it; these would soon have mastered a small and wearied body, disheartened by so great a loss; so that if he had followed his refolution all was loft, for all that Stanhope could have done, was, to receive, and bring off fuch as could get to him; but one of those newly taken, happening to cry out, O poor Prince of Heffe, the Governor hearing this, called

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for him, and examined him, and when he learned 1705. that both the Prince of Hesse and the Earl of Peterborough were with that body, he concluded that the whole army was certainly coming up after them; and reflecting on that, he thought it was not fit for him to expose his men, fince he believed the body they were to attack would be foon much fuperior to him; so he resolved not to risque a fally, but to keep within and maintain the fort against them. Thus the Earl of Peterborough continued quiet in the out-works, and being reinforced with more men, he attacked the fort, but with no great hopes of luceeeding: He threw a few bombs into it, one of thele fell happily into the magazine of powder, and blew it up: By this the Governor and some of the best officers were killed, which struck the rest with such a consternation, that they delivered up the place. This fuccess gave them And tagreat hopes, the town lying just under the hill, which the fort stood on: Upon this the party in Barcelona, that was well affected to King Charles, began to take heart, and to shew themselves: And after a few days fiege, another happy bomb fell with so good an effect, that the garrison was torced to capitulate.

King Charles was received into Barcelona, with great expressions of joy: In the first transport, they feemed refolved to break through the articles granted to the garrison, and to make sacrifices of the chief officers at least. Upon that Barcelona the Earl of Peterborough, with Stanhope and capituother officers, rode about the streets, to stop this lated. fury, and to prevail with the people to maintain their articles religiously; and in doing this, Stanhope laid to me, they ran a greater hazard, from the shooting and fire, that was flying about in that disorder, than they had done during the whole siege: They at last quieted the people, and the articles of capitulation were punctually observed. Upon this unexpected fuccels, the whole principality of Cata-

1705. Ionia declared for King Charles: I will not profecute this relation fo minutely in other parts of it, having fet down so particularly, that which I had from so good a hand, chiefly to set forth the signal steps of Providence, that did appear in this matter. I see some on the state of the long to the land the

King Charles's letters.

Soon after, our fleet failed back to England, and Stanhope was fent over in it, to give a full relation of this great transaction: By him King Charles wrote to the Queen a long and clear account of all his affairs; full of great acknowledge. ments of her affiftance, with a high commendation of all her subjects, more particularly of the Earl of Peterborough: The Queen was pleafed to shew me the letter; it was all writ in his own hand, and the French of it was so little correct, that it was not like what a Secretary would have drawn for him: fo from that I concluded he penned it himself. The Lord Treasurer had likewise another long letter from him, which he shewed me: It was all in his own hand: One correction feemed to make it evident, that he himself composed it. He wrote towards the end of the letter, that he must depend on his Protection; upon reflection, that word feemed not fit for him to use to a subject, so it was dashed out, but the letters were still plain, and instead of it Application was writ over head: These letters gave a great idea of fo young and unexperienced a Prince, who was able to write with fo much clearness, judgment, and force. By all that is reported of the Prince of Lichtenstein, that King could not receive any great affiftance from him: He was spoken of, as a man of a low genius, who thought of nothing but the ways of enriching himfelf, even at the hazard of ruining his mafter's buthe (hooting and bre, that eas hylage at

Affairs at fea.

Our affairs at sea were more prosperous this year, than they had been formerly: In the beginning of the feafon our cruizers took so many of the French privateers, that we had some thousands of their sea-

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men in our hands: We kept fuch a squadron before 1705. Brest, that the French sleet did not think fit to venture out, and their Toulon fquadron had fuffered fo much in the action of the former years, that they either could not, or would not venture out: By this means our navigation was fafe, and our trade

was prosperous.

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The fecond campaign in Portugal ended worfe than the first: Badajos was befieged, and the Earl of Gallway hoped he should have been quickly master of it; but his hopes were not well grounded, for the flege was raised: In one action the Earl of Gall- The flege way's arm was broke by a cannon-ball: It was cut of Badajos off, and for fome days his life was in great danger; raifed. the milcarriage of the delign heightening the fever that followed his wound, by the vexation that it gave him. But now upon the news from Catalonia, the councils of Portugal were quite changed: They The counhad a better prospect than formerly, of the reduc- cils of Portion of Spain: The War was now divided, which tugal. lay wholly upon them before: And the French party in that court had no more the old pretence, to excufe their councils by, which was, that it was not flt for them to engage themselves too deep in that war, nor to provoke the Spaniards too much, and to expose themselves to revenges, if the allies should delpair and grow weary of the war, and recall their troops and fleets. But now that they law the war carried on fo far, in the remotest corner of Spain, which must give a great diversion to king Philip's forces, it feemed a much fafer, as well as it was an ealier thing to carry on the war, with more vigour for the future. Upon this all possible assurances were given the Earl of Gallway, that things should be conducted hereafter fully to his content. So that by two of his dispatches, which the Lord Treasurer thewed me, it appeared that he was then fully convinced of the fincerity of their intentions, of which he was in great doubt, or rather despairing formerly.

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1705. Hungary.

In Hungary matters went on very doubtfully: Transylvania was almost entirely reduced; Ragotzi Affairs in had great misfortunes there, as the court of Vienna published the progress of the new emperor's arms, but this was not to be much depended on: They could not conceal on the other hand the great ravages, that the malecontents made in other places: So that Hungary continued to be a scene of confufion and plunder.

And in Poland.

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Poland was no better: King Augustus's party continued firm to him, tho' his long stay in Saxony gave credit to a report spread about, that he was refolved to abandon that kingdom, and to return to it no more: This fummer past over in motions, and actions of no great consequence: what was gained in one place, was lost in another. Stanislaus got himself to be crowned: The old Cardinal, tho' fummoned to Rome, would not go thither: He fuffered himself to be forced to own Stanislaus, but died before his coronation, and that ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Cujavia: The Muscovites made as great ravages in Lithuania, as they had done formerly in Livonia: The King of Sweden was in perpetual motion: But the 'he endeavoured it much, he could not bring things to a decifive action. In the beginning of winter, King Augustus, with two persons only, broke thro' Poland in disguise, and got to the Muscovite army, which was put under his command. The campaign went on all the winter-feafon, which, confidering the extream cold in those parts, was thought a thing impracticable before. In the fpring after, Reinschild a Swedish General, sell upon the Saxon army, that was far fuperior to his in number: He had not above 10000 men, and the Saxons were about 18000: He gave them a total defeat, killed about 7000, and took 8000 prisoners, and their camp, baggage, and artillery: Numbers upon fuch occasions are often swelled, but it is certain this was an entire victory: The Swedes gave it out,

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it, at that they had not lost a thousand men in the action; 1705. and yet even this great advantage was not like to put an end to the war, nor to the distractions, into which that milerable kingdom was cast. In it the world faw the mischiefs of an elective government, especially when the Electors have lost their virtue, and fet themselves to sale. The King of Sweden continued in an obstinate aversion to all terms of peace: His temper, his courage, and his military conduct were much commended; only all faid he grew too favage, and was so positive and peremptory in his refolutions, that no applications could toften him: He would scarce admit them to be made: He was taid to be devout almost to enthusiasm, and he was severely engaged in the Lutheran rigidity, almost equally against Papists and Calvinists: Only his education was fo much neglected, that he had not an equal measure of knowledge, to direct his zeal. or introductional and and to viango ago at tistimed

This is fuch a general view of the state of Europe this lummer, as may ferve to shew how things went on in every part of it. I now return to England. The election of the Members of the House of Com- A Parliamons was managed with zeal and industry on both ment chofides: The Clergy took great pains to infuse, into fen in all people, tragical apprehensions of the danger the England. church was in: The universities were inflamed with this, and they took all means to spread it over the nation, with much vehemence: The danger the church of England was in, grew to be as the word given in an army; men were known as they aniwered it: None carried this higher than the Jacobites, tho' they had made a schism in the church; At last, even the Papists, both at home and abroad, seemed to be disturbed, with the fears that the danger our church was in, put them under: and this was supported by the Paris Gazette, tho' the party leemed concerned and ashamed of that. Books were writ and dispersed over the nation with great industry, to possess all people with the apprehen-

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1705. Sions that the church was to be given up, that the → Bishops were betraying it, and that the court would fell it to the differenters. They also hoped, that this campaign, proving less prosperous than had been expected, might put the nation into ill humour, which might furnish them with some advantages. In opposition to all this, the court acted with such caution and coldness, that the whigs had very little ftrength given them by the ministers, in managing elections: They seemed rather to look on, as indifferent spectators, but the whigs exerted themselves with great activity and zeal. The diffenters, who had been formerly much divided, were now united, entirely in the interests of the government, and joined with the whigs every where.

. When the elections were all over, the court took more heart: for it appeared, that they were fure of a great majority, and the Lord Godolphin declared himself more openly, than he had done formerly, in favour of the whigs: The first instance given of this, was the dismissing of Wright, who had continued to long Lord-Keeper, that he was fallen under a high degree of contempt with all fides; even the tories, tho' he was wholly theirs, despising him: He was fordidly covetous, and did not at all live fuitably to that high post: He became extream rich, yet I never heard him charged with bribery in his court, but there was a foul rumour, with relation to the livings of the Crown, that were given by the Great Seal, as if they were fet to fale, by the officers

Cowper Lord-Keeper.

under hima awond with home , which he at a The feals being fent for, they were given to Cowper, a gentleman of a good family, of excellent parts and of an engaging deportment, very eminent in his profession; and who had for many years been considered, as the man who spoke the best of any in the House of Commons: He was a very acceptable man to the whig party: They had been much difgusted with the Lord Treasurer, for the coldness he expressed, as if he would have maintained a neu-Buoil trality trality between the two parties; tho' the one support- 1705. ed him, while the other defigned to ruin him: But this flep went a great way towards the reconciling the whigs to him. s whips or et sleillogent as w

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A fession of Parliament met this summer in Scotland: There was a change made in the Ministry there: Those who were employed in the former feffion, could not undertake to carry a majority; So all the Duke of Queenfbury's friends were again brought into employment. The Duke of Argyle's instructions were, that he should endeavour to procure an act, fertling the fuccession as it was in England, or to let on foot a treaty for the union of the two kingdoms: When he came to Scotland, and laid his instructions before the rest of the Ministers there; the Marquess of Anandale pressed, that they should first try that, which was first named in the instructions, and he leemed confident, that if all who were in imployments would concur in it, they should be able to carry it. Those of another mind, who were in their hearts for the pretended Prince of Wales, put this by with great zeal: They faid they must not begin with that, which would meet with great opposition, and be perhaps rejected: That would beget luch an union of parties, that if they milcarried in the one, they would not be able to carry the other; therefore they thought that the first proposition should be for the union: that was popular, and feemed to be a remote thing; fo there would be no great opposition made to a general act about it. Those who intended still to oppose it, would one reckon they would find matter enough in the particulars, to raile a great opposition, and so to defeat it. This course was agreed on, at which the Marquess of Anandale was so highly offended, that he An act for concurred no more in the councils of those, who a treaty of gave the other advice. Some did fincerely defire union past. the union, as that which would render the whole island happy: others were in their hearts against it; they thought it was a plaulible step, which they believed

1705, lieved would run, by a long treaty, into a course of fome years, that during that time, they would be continued in their imployments, and they feemed to think it was impossible so to adjust all matters, as to frame such a treaty, as would pass in the Parlia. ments of both kingdoms. The Jacobites concurred all heartily in this: It kept the fettling the fucces. Gon at a distance, and very few looked on the motion for the union, as any thing but a pretence, to keep matters yet longer in suspence: So this being proposed in Parliament, it was soon and readily agreed to, with little or no opposition. But that being over, complaints were made of the acts paffed. in the Parliament of England: which carried fuch an appearance of threatning, that many thought it became them not to enter on a treaty, till these thould be repealed. It was carried, but not without-difficulty, that no clause relating to that should be in the act, that empowered the Queen to name the commissioners; but that an address should be made to the Queen, praying her that no proceedings should be made in the treaty, till the act, that declared the Scotch aliens by fuch a day, should be repealed: They also voted, that none of that nation should enter upon any such treaty, till that were first done. This was popular, and no opposition was made to it: But those who had ill intentions, hoped that all would be defeated by it. The fession run out into a great length, and in the harvest-time, which put the country to a great charge.

An act for

a treaty of

The flate In Ireland, the new heat among the protestants of Ireland, there, raised in the Earl of Rochester's time, and connived at, if not encouraged by the Duke of Ormond, went on still: A body of hot clergymen fent from England, began to form meetings in Dublin, and to have emissaries and a correspondence over Ireland, on design to raise the same fury in the clergy of that kingdom against the differences, that they had raised here in England: Whether this was only the effect of an unthink-

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ing and ill-governed heat among them, or if it was .1905. fet on by foreign practices, was not yet visible. It did certainly ferve their ends, fo that it was not to be doubted, that they were not wanting in their endeavours to keep it up, and to promote it, whether they were the original contrivers of itror not; for indeed hot men, not practifed in affairs, are apt enough of their own accord, to run into wild and unreasonable extravagances. The lateval

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The Parliament of England met in the end of A Parlia-October: The first struggle was about the choice ment in of a speaker, by which a judgment was to be made England. of the temper and inclinations of the members. The court declared for Mr. Smith! He was a man of clear parts, and of a good expression: He was then in no employment, but he had gone thro' great posts in the former reign, with reputation A speaker and honour. He had been a commissioner of the chosen. treasury and chancellor of the exchequer: He had, from his first ferting out in the world, been thoroughly in the principles and interests of the whigs, yet with a due temper in all personal things, with relation to the Pories : But they all declared at gainst him for Mr. Bromley, a man of a grave deportment, and good morals, but looked on as a violent Tory, and as a great favourer of Jacobites; which appeared evidently in a relation he printed of his travels. No matter of that fort had ever been carried with fuch heat on both fides, as this was: So that it was just to form a judgment upon it of the temper of the house, it went for Mr. Smith by a majority of four and forty.

The Queen after the had confirmed this choice, made a speech, in which she recommended union to them, in a very particular manner: She complained of the reports, that were spread by illdeligning men, of the danger the church was in, who under these infinuations covered that, which they durst not own: She recommended the care of the publick supplies to the Commons, and

1705. fpoke of the Duke of Savoy in high and very ob. liging terms. This produced addresses from both Houses, in which they expressed a detestation of those practices of infusing into her subjects groundless fears concerning the church: This went easily. for fome kept out of the way, from whom it was expected, that they would afterwards open more copiously on the subject. The chairmen of the feveral committees of the House of Commons. were men of whom the court was well affured.

ni ment in The first matter, with which they commonly begin, is to receive petitions against the members returned, fo that gave a further discovery of the inclinations of the majority: The corruption of the nation was grown to fuch a height, and there was fo much foul practice on all hands that there was, no doubt, great cause of complaint. The first election that was judged, was that of St. Albans, where the Dutchess of Marlborough had a house: She recommended Admiral Killigrew to those in the town; which was done all England over, by perfons of quality, who had any interest in the burghers: yet the' much foul practice was proved on the other hand, and there was not the least colour of evidence, to fix any ill practice on her, some reflected very indecently upon her: Bromley compared her to Alice Piers, in King Edward the third's time, and faid many other virulent; things against her; for indeed she was looked upon, by the whole party, as the person who had reconciled the Whigs to the Queen, from whom she was naturally very averfe. Most of the controverted elections were carried in favour of the Whigs: In some few they failed, more by reason of private animolities, than by the strength of the other fide. The House of Commons came readily in to vote all the fupplies that were asked, and went on to provide proper funds for them.

The most important debates that were in this session began in the House of Lords; the Queen

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ieen ing being present at them all. The Lord Haversham opened the motions of the Tory fide: He arraign ed the Duke of Marlborough's conduct, both on the Moselle and in Brabant, and reflected severely on the Dutch, which he carried fo far as to fav. that the war cost them nothing; and after he had wandered long in a rambling discourse, he came at last to the point which was laid, to be the debate of the day: He faid we had declared a successor Debates ato the Crown, who was at a great diffance from bout the us: While the Pretender was much nearer; and next fuc-Scotland was armed and ready to receive him; and feemed resolved not to have the same successor, for whom England had declared: These were threatning Dangers that hung over us, and might be near us. He concluded, that he did not fee how they could be prevented, and the nation made fafe, by any other way, but by inviting the next fuccessor to come and live among us. The Duke of Buckingham, the Earls of Rochefter, Nottingham, and Angleley carried on the debate, with great earnestnels: It was urged, that they had fworn to maintain the fuccession, and by that they were bound to infift on this motion, fince there was no means fo fure to maintain it, as to have the fucceffor upon the foot, ready to affume and maintain his right: It appeared, thro' our whole history, that whosoever came first into England, had always carried it: The pretending fuccessor might be in England within three days, whereas it might be three weeks before the declared successor could come: From thence it was inferred, that the danger was apparent and dreadful, if the fuccessor should not be brought over: If King Charles had been in Spain, when the late King died, probably that would have prevented all this war, in which we were now engaged. With these Lords, by a strange reverse, all the Tories joined; and by another, and as strange a reverse, all the Whigs joined in opposing it. They thought this matter

1705.

was to be left wholly to the Queen; that it was neither proper nor fafe either for the Crown, or for the nation, that the heir should not be in an entire dependence on the Queen; a rivalry between two courts might throw us into great distractions, and be attended with very ill confequences: The next fuccessor had expressed a full satisfaction, and rested on the assurances the Queen had given her, of her firm adherence to her title, and to the maintaining of it: The nation was prepared for it, by the orders the Queen had given to name her in the daily Prayers of the church: Great endeavours had been used, to bring the Scotch nation to declare the same successor. It was true, we still wanted one great fecurity, we had not yet made any provision, for carrying on the government, for maintaining the publick quiet, for proclaiming and fending for the fuccessor; and for keeping things in order, till the fuccessor should come: It seemed therefore necessary, to make an effectual provision against the disorders, that might happen in such an interval. This was proposed first by myself, and it was seconded by the Lord Godolphin, and all the Whigs went into it; and so the question was put upon the other motion, as first made, by a previous division, whether that should be put or not, and was carried in the negative by about three

The Queen heard the debate, and seemed amazed at the behaviour of some, who when they had credit with her, and apprehended that fuch a motion might be made by the Whigs, had possessed her with deep prejudices against it: For they made her apprehend, that when the next fuccessor should be brought over, the herfelf would be to eclipfed by it, that she would be much in the successor's power, and reign only at her or his courtefy: Yet these very persons, having now lost their interest in her, and their posts, were driving on that very motion, which they had made her apprehend was the

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most fatal thing that could befall. This the Dutchess of Marlborough told me, but she named no person: And upon it a very black suspicion was taken up, by some, that the proposers of this matter knew, or at least believed, that the Queen would not agree to the motion, which way soever it might be brought to her; whether in an address, or in a bill; and then they might reckon, that this would give such a jealously, and create such a misunderstanding between her and the Parliament, or rather the whole nation, as would unsettle her whole government, and put all things in disorder. But this was only a suspicion, and more cannot be made of it.

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The Lords were now engaged to go on in the A bill for debate for a regency: It was opened by the Lord a regency. Wharton in a manner, that charmed the whole House: He had not been present at the former debate, but he faid he was much delighted, with what he had heard concerning it; he faid, he had ever looked on the fecuring a Protestant succession to the Crown, as that which fecured all our happiness: He had heard the Queen recommend from the throne, union and agreement to all her subjects, with a great emotion in his own mind: It was now evident, there was a divinity about her, when the spoke; the cause was certainly supernatural, for we faw the miracle that was wrought by it; now all were for the Protestant succession; it had not been always so: He rejoiced in their conversion, and confessed it was a miracle: He would not, he could not, he ought not to suspect the sincerity of those, who moved for inviting the next successor over; yet he could not hinder himself from remembring what had passed, in a course of many years; and how men had argued, voted and protested all that while. This confirmed his opinion that a miracle was now wrought; and that might oblige some to shew their change, by an excess of zeal, which he could not but commend, tho' he VOL. IV.

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1705. did not fully agree to it. After this preamble, he opened the proposition for the regency, in all the branches of it; That regents should be empower'd to act, in the name of the fuccessor, till he should fend over orders: That besides those, whom the Parliament should name, the next successor should fend over a nomination fealed up, and to be opened, when that accident should happen, of persons who should act in the same capacity, with those who should be named by Parliament: So the motion being thus digested, was agreed to by all the whigs, and a bill was ordered to be brought in, pursuant to these propositions. But upon the debate on the heads of the bill, it did appear that the conversion, which the Lord Wharton had so pleafantly magnified, was not fo entire as he feemed to suppose: There was some cause given to doubt of the miracle; for when a fecurity, that was real and visible, was thus offered, those who made the other motion, flew off from it. They pretended, that it was because they could not go off from their first motion; but they were told, that the immediate fuccessor might indeed, during her life, continue in England, yet it was not to be fupposed, that her son the Elector could be always absent from his own dominions, and throw off all care of them, and of the concerns of the empire, in which he bore fo great a share. If he should go over, for ever fo short a time, the accident might happen, in which it was certainly necessary to provide fuch an expedient, as was now offered. This laid them open to much censure, but men engaged in parties are not easily put out of countenance. It was refolved, that the regents should be feven and no more; and they were fixed by the posts they were in: The Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Keeper, the Lord Treasurer, Lord Prefident, Lord Privy Seal, Lord High Admiral, and the Lord Chief Justice for the time being, were named for that high trust. The tories struge

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igled gled hard, that the Lord Treasurer should not be 1705. one, only to shew their spite to the Lord Godolphin, but the motion was rejected with fcorn; ifor it feemed ridiculous, in a time, when there might be much occasion for money, to exclude an officer from that high trust, who alone could furnish them with it, or direct them how to be furnished. The tories moved, that the Lord Mayor of London should be one, but that was likewise rejected: for the design of the act was, that the government should be carried on, by those who should be at that time in the conduct and fecret of affairs, and were persons nominated by the Queen; whereas the Lord Mayor was chosen by the city, and had no practice in business. These regents were required to proclaim the next fuccessor, and to give orders for the like proclamation over England and Ireland: The next fuccessor might send a triplicate of the persons, named by her or him; one of these was to be deposited with the Archbishop of Canterbury, another with the Lord Keeper, and a third with his own minister, residing at this court; upon the producing whereof, the persons nominated were to join with the regents, and to act in equality with them: The last Parliament, even though diffolved, was to be prefently brought together, and empower'd to continue fitting for fix months; and thus things were to be kept in order, till the fucceffor should either come in person, or lend over his orders.

The tories made some opposition to every Great opbranch of the act, but in that of the Parliament's position sitting, the opposition was more remarkable: The made to it, Earl of Rocester moved, that the Parliament and the regents should be limited, to pass no act of repeal, of any part of the act of uniformity, and in his positive way said, if this was not agreed to, he should still think the church was in danger, notwithstanding what they had heard from the throne, in the beginning of the session. It was objected to this, that if the regal power was in the regents,

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1705. and if the Parliament was likewife a legal one, then by the constitution the whole legislature was in them, and that could not be limited: for they could repeal any law that limited them; but the judges were of opinion, that the power of regents might be limited: fo that, as the defign of moving this might be, to have a new colour to posses the clergy, that there was a fecret defign against the church, which might break out at fuch a time, the Lords gave way to it, though they thought it unreasonable, and proposed with no good design. The tories, upon the yielding this to them, proposed a great many more limitations, such as the restraining the regents from consenting to a repeal of the act for Triennial Parliaments, the acts for trials in cases of treason, and some others: And fo extravagant were they, in their defign of making the act appear ridiculous, that they proposed as a limitation, that they should not have power to repeal the acts of fuccession: All these were rejected with fcorn and indignation; the Lords feeing by this their error in yielding to that, proposed by the Earl of Rochester. The bill passed in the House of Lords, but the tories protested against it.

I never knew any thing, in the management of the tories, by which they suffered more in their reputation, than by this: They hoped, that the motion for the invitation would have cleared them of all suspicions, of inclinations towards the pretended Prince of Wales, and would have reconciled the body of the nation to them, and turned them against all, who should oppose it: But the progress of the matter produced a contrary effect: The management was so ill disguised, that it was visible they intended only to provoke the Queen by it, hoping that the provocation might go so far, that in the sequel all their designs might be brought about, though by a method that seemed quite con-

trary to them, and destructive of them.

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The bill lay long in the House of Commons, 1705. by a fecret management, that was against it: The tories there likewise proposed, that the next suc- A secret ceffor should be brought over; which was opposed manageby the whigs, not by any vote against it, but by the House refolving to go thro' the Lords bill first: The fe- of Comcret management was from Hanover. Some in-mons. digent persons, and others imployed by the tories, had studied to infuse jealousies of the Queen and her ministers, into the old Electoress. She was then feventy-five; but had still fo much vivacity, that as the was the most knowing, and the most entertaining woman of the age, so she seemed willing to change her scene, and to come and shine among us here in England; they prevailed with her to write a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, intimating her readiness to come over, if the Queen and Parliament should desire it: This was made publick by the intriguing persons in that court: And a colour was foon found, to keep fome whigs from agreeing to the act. In the act that first settled the fuccession, one limitation, (as was told in its proper place) had been, that when the Crown should pass into that House, no man who had either place or pension should be capable of sitting in the House of Commons: The clause in this bill, that empowered either the Parliament, that should be current at the Queen's death, or that which had fate last (though diffolved) to sit for six months, or till the fuccessor should dissolve it, seemed contrary to this incapacitating clause, in the former act. Great exceptions were taken to this by fome zealous whigs, who were so possessed with the notion of a felf-denying bill, as necessary to preserve publick liberty, from the practices of a defigning court, that for some weeks there was cause to tear, not only the loss of the bill, but a breach among the whigs upon this head: Much pains were taken, and with very good effect, to heal this: It was at last settled; a great many offices K 3 were

1705.

cy past.

were enumerated, and it was declared that every man, who held any of these, was thereby incapacitated from fitting in the House of Commons; and every member of the house, who did accept of any other office, was upon that excluded the house, and a new writ was to go out, to those whom he represented, to choose again; but it was left free to them to choose him, or any other as they pleased. The act of It was defired by those, who pressed this matter the regenmost, that it should take place only in the next reign: But to remove all jealousy, the ministers were content, that these clauses should take place immediately, upon the diffolution of the prefent Parliament. And when the House of Commons fent up these self-denying clauses to the Lords, they added to them a repeal of that clause, in the first act of fuccession, by which the succeeding Princes were limited to govern by the advice of their council, and by which all the Privy-Counfellors were to be

> obliged to fign their advices; which was impracticable, fince it was visible that no man would be a Privy-Counsellor on those terms: The Lords added the repeal of this clause, to the amendments sent up by the

quired into.

Commons; and the Commons readily agreed to it, After this act had passed, the Lord Halifax gers of the temembring what the Earl of Rochester had faid, church en- concerning the danger the church might be in, moved that a day might be appointed, to enquire into those dangers, about which so many tragical stories had been published of late: A day was appointed for this, and we were all made believe, that we should hear many frightful things: But our expectations were not answered: Some spoke of danger from the Presbytery, that was settled in Scotland: Some spoke of the absence of the next fuccessor: Some reflected on the occasional bill, that was rejected in that house: Some complained of the schools of the diffenters: And others reflected on the principles, that many had drank in, that were different from those formerly received, and that seemed destructive of the church. In

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In opposition to all this, it was said, that the 1705. church was fafer now, than ever it had been: At the revolution, provision was made that our King must be of the reformed religion, nor was this all; in the late act of succession it was enacted, that he should be of the Communion of the Church of England: It was not reasonable to object to the house the rejecting a bill, which was done by the majority, of whom it became not the leffer number to complain: We had all our former laws left to us, not only entire, but fortified by late additions and explanations: So that we were fafer in all these, than we had been at any time formerly: The Diffenters gained no new strength, they were visibly decreasing: The toleration had softened their tempers, and they concurred zealoufly in ferving all the ends of the government: Nor was there any particular complaint brought against them: They feemed quiet and content with their toleration; if they could be but fecure of enjoying it: The Queen was taking the most effectual means possible, to deliver the clergy from the depressions of poverty, that brought them under much contempt, and denied them the necessary means and helps of study: The Bishops looked after their dioceses with a care, that had not been known in the memory of man: Great fums were yearly raifed, by their care and zeal, for ferving the plantations, better than had ever yet been done: A spirit of zeal and piety appeared in our churches, and at facrament beyond the example of former times. In one respect it was acknowledged the church was in danger; there was an evil spirit, and a virulent temper spread among the clergy; there were many indecent fermons preached on publick occasions, and those hot clergy-men, who were not the most regular in their lives, had raifed factions in many dioceles against their Bishops: These were dangers created by those very men, who filled the nation with this out-cry, against imaginary ones, while their own conduct K 4 produced

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1705. produced real and threatning dangers. Many fevere reflections were thrown out on both fides, in the progress of this debate.

A vote and an address to the

It ended in a vote carried by a great majority: That the Church of England, under the Queen's Over a happy administration, was in a safe and flourishing bout that, condition; and to this a fevere censure was added, on the spreaders of these reports of dangers; that they were the enemies of the Queen and of her government. They also resolved to make an address to the Queen, in which, after this was fet forth, they prayed her to order a profecution, according to law, of all who should be found guilty of this offence: They fent this down to the House of Commons, where the debate was brought over again, but it was run down with great force: The Commons agreed with the Lords, and both Houses went together to the Queen with this address. Such a concurrence of both houses had not been deen for fome years: And indeed there was in both fo great a majority, for carrying on all the interests of the government; that the men of ill intentions had no hopes, during the whole fellion, of embroiling matters, but in the debates concerning the felf-denying clause abovementioned.

1706. Complaints of the allies rejected.

s ar dwonal need But though the main designs and hopes of the party had thus not only failed them, but turned against them; yet they resolved to make another attempt: It was on the Duke of Marlborough, though they spoke of him with great respect. They complained of the errors committed this year, in the conduct of the war: They indeed laid the blame, of the miscarriage of the design on the Mofelle, on the Prince of Baden, and the errors committed in Brabant on the States and their deputies; but they faid they could not judge of these things, nor be able to lay before the Queen those advices, that might be fit for them to offer to her, unless they were made acquainted with the whole feries of thoie

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those affairs: therefore they proposed, that by an 1706. address, they might pray the Queen to communicate to them, all that she knew concerning those transactions, during the last campaign: for they reckoned, that if all particulars should be laid before them, they would find somewhat in the Duke of Marlborough's conduct, on which a censure might be fixed. To this it was answered, that if any complaint was brought, against any of the Queen's subjects, it would be reasonable for them to enquire into it, by all proper ways: but the House of Lords could not pretend to examine or to censure the conduct of the Queen's allies: they were not subject to them, nor could they be heard to justify themselves: and it was somewhat extraordinary, if they should pass a censure or make a complaint of them. It was one of the trufts that was lodged with the government, to manage all treaties and alliances: So that our commerce with our allies was wholly in the Crown: Allies might fometimes fail, being not able to perform what they undertook: They are subject both to errors and accidents, and are fometimes ill-ferved: The entring into that matter was not at all proper for the House, unless it was intended to run into rash and indiscreet censures. on defign to provoke the allies, and by that means to weaken, if not break the alliance: The Queen would no doubt endeavour to redrefs whatfoever was amifs, and that must be trusted to her conduct.

So this attempt not only failed, but it happened upon this, as upon other occasions, that it was turned against those who made it: An address was made to the Queen, praying her to go on in her alliances, and in particular to cultivate a perfect union and correspondence with the States of the United Provinces: This had a very good effect in Holland, for the agents of France were, at the same time, both spreading reports among us, that the Dutch were inclined to a peace; and among them, that the English had very unkind thoughts of them: The design was, to alienate us from one another,

1706. another, that so both might be thereby the better disposed to hearken to a project of peace; which in the state, in which matters were at that time, was the most destructive thing that could be thought on: And all motions that look'd that way, gave very evident discoveries of the bad intentions of those. who made them. They adold we no but no of fello

The acts against the Scots repealed.

The next business, of a publick nature, that came before the Parliament, was carried very unanimously: The Queen laid before the two Houses the addresses of the Scotch Parliament, against any progress in the treaty of union, till the act, which declared them aliens by fuch a day, should be repealed: The tories, upon this occasion, to make themselves popular, after they had failed in many attempts, refolved to promote this; apprehending that the whigs, who had first moved for that act, would be for maintaining their own work : but they feemed to be much furprized, when after they had prefaced their motions in this matter, with fuch declarations of their intentions for the publick good, that shewed they expected opposition and a debate, the whigs not only agreed to this, but carried the motion further, to the other act relating to their manufacture and trade. This paffed very unanimoufly in both Houses; and by this means way was made, for opening a treaty, as foon as the felfion should come to an end. All the northern parts of England, which had been diffurbed for fome years, with apprehensions of a war with Scotland, that would certainly be mischievous to them, whatfoever the end of it might prove, were much delighted with the prospect of peace and union with their neighbours.

These were the most important debates during this fession; at all which the Queen was present: She staid all the while, and hearkned to every thing with great attention. The debates were managed on the one fide, by the Lords Godolphin, Wharton, Somers, Halifax, Sunderland, and Townshend; on

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the other fide by the Duke of Buckingham, and 1706. the Lords Rochester, Nottingham, Anglesey, Guernsey, and Haversham. There was so much ftrength and clearness on the one side, and so much heat and artifice on the other, that nothing but obstinate partiality could refift fo evident a conviction.

The House of Commons went on in creating The pubfunds, for the fupplies they had voted, for the next lick credit year: And the nation was fo well fatisfied with the government, and the conduct of affairs, that a fund being created for two millions and a half, by way of annuities for ninety-nine years, at fix and a half per Cent. at the end of which the capital was to fink; the whole fum was subscribed in a very few days: At the same time the Duke of Marlborough proposed the advance of a fum of 500,000 l. to the Emperor, for the use of Prince Eugene, and the service of Italy, upon a branch of the Emperor's revenue in Silesia, at eight per Cent. and the capital to be repaid in eight years: The nation did fo abound, both in money and zeal, that this was likewife advanced in a very few days: Our armies, as well as our allies, were every where punctually paid: The credit of the nation was never raifed fo high in any age, nor fo facredly maintained: The Treafury was as exact and as regular in all payments, as any private Banker could be. It is true, a great deal of money went out of the kingdom in specie: That which maintained the war in Spain, was to be fent thither in that manner, the way by bills of exchange not being yet opened: Our trade with Spain and the West-Indies, which formerly brought us great returns of money, was now stopt: by this means there grew to be a fensible want of money over the nation: This was in a great measure supplied, by the currency of Exchequer-bills and Bank-notes: And this lay so obvious to the disaffected party, that they were often attempting to blaft, at least to disparage this paper credit: But it was still kept up. It bred a just indignation in all, who had a true

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.1706.

love to their country, to see some using all possible methods to shake the administration, which, not-withstanding the difficulties at home and abroad, was much the best that had been in the memory of man: And was certainly not only easy to the subjects in general, but gentle even towards those, who were endeavouring to undermine it.

A bill to regulate proceedings at law.

The Lord Somers made a motion in the House of Lords, to correct some of the proceedings in the common law, and in chancery, that were both dilatory and very chargeable: He began the motion with some instances, that were more conspicuous and gross; and he managed the matter so, that both the Lord Keeper and Judges concurred with him; though it passes generally for a maxim, that Judges ought rather to enlarge, than contract their jurisdiction. A bill passed the House, that began a reformation of proceedings at law, which, as things now stand, are certainly among the greatest grievances of the nation: When this went through the House of Commons, it was visible that the interest of under-officers, clerks, and attorneys, whose gains were to be leffened by this bill, was more confidered, than the interest of the nation it felf: Several clauses, how beneficial foever to the fubject, which touched on their profit, were left out by the Commons. But what fault foever the Lords might have found with these alterations, yet to avoid all disputes with the Commons, they agreed to their amendments.

There was another general complaint made of the private acts of parliament, that passed through both Houses too easily, and in so great a number, that it took up a great part of the session to examine them, even in that cursory way, that was subject to many inconveniencies: The sees that were paid for these, to the speakers and clerks of both Houses, inclined them to savour and promote them: So the Lord Somers proposed such a regulation in that matter, as will probably have a good effect for the suture. The present Lord Keeper did indeed very general company that the second services are such as the same and the second services are such as the second second services are such as the second sec

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ne. Ny roully obstruct those private bills, as much as his 1706. predecessor had promoted them: He did another thing of a great example; on the first day of the year, it was become a custom, for all those who practifed in Chancery, to offer a new-year's gift to the Lord, who had the Great Seal: these grew to be so considerable, that they amounted to 1500 l. a year: On this new-year's day, which was his first, he fignified to all who, according to custom, were expected to come with their prefents, that he would receive none, but would break that cuftom. He thought it looked, like the infinuating themselves into the favour of the court; and that if it was not bribery, yet it came too near it, and looked too like it: This contributed not a little to the raifing his character: He managed the court of Chancery with impartial justice, and great dispatch; and was very useful to the House of Lords, in the promoting of business.

When the fession was near an end, great com-Complaints were made in both Houses of the progress of plaints of popery in Lancashire, and of many insolencies com- the promitted there, both by the laity and priests of that gress of religion: Upon this a bill was brought into the popery. House of Commons, with clauses that would have rendred the bill, past against papists in the end of the last reign, effectual: This alarmed all of that religion: so that they made very powerful (or to follow the raillery of that time) very weighty intercessions with the considerable men of that House. The court looked on, and feemed indifferent in the matter, yet it was given out that so severe a law would be very unreasonable, when we were in alliance with io many princes of that religion, and that it must lessen the force of the Queen's intercession, in favour of the protestants, that lived in the domimions of those princes: The proceeding seemed rigorous, and not fuited to the gentleness, that the Christian religion did so particularly recommend, and was contrary to the maxims of liberty of conscience and toleration, that were then in great vogue.

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It was answered, that the dependence of those of that religion, on a foreign jurisdiction, and at present on a foreign Pretender to the Crown, put them out of the case of other subjects, who might differ from the established religion; since there seemed to be good reason to consider the papists as enemies, rather than as subjects. But the application was made in so effectual a manner, that the bill was let fall: And though the Lords had made some steps towards such a bill, yet fince they faw what fate it was like to have in the House of Commons, instead of proceeding farther in it, they dismissed that matter with an address to the Queen, that she would give orders, both to the Justices of Peace, and to the Clergy, that a return might be made to the next fession of Parliament, of all the papifts in England.

A defign

There was another project fet on foot at this time for a pub- by the Lord Halifax, for putting the records and lick libra- the publick offices of the kingdom in better order: He had, in a former fession, moved the Lords to fend some of their number to view the records in the Tower, which were in great diforder, and in a visible decay for want of some more officers; and by the neglect of those we had. These Lords in their report proposed some regulations for the future, which have been fince followed fo effectually, though at a confiderable charge, by creating feveral new officers, that the nation will reap the benefit of all this very fenfibly: But Lord Halifax carried his project much further. The famous library, collected by Sir Robert Cotton, and continued down in his family, was the greatest collection of manuscripts relating to the publick, that perhaps any nation in Europe could shew: The late owner of it, Sir John Cotton, had, by his will, left it to the publick, but in fuch words, that it was rather thut up, than made any way useful: And indeed it was to be so carefully preserved, that none could be the better for it: So that Lord moved the House to intreat the Queen, that she would be pleased to buy

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Cotton-House, which stood just between the two Houses of Parliament; so that some part of that ground would furnish them with many useful rooms, and there would be enough left, for building a noble structure for a library: To which, besides the Cotton Library and the Queen's Library, the Royal Society, who had a very good library at Gresham college, would remove and keep their afsemblies there, as soon as it was made convenient for them. This was a great defign, which the Lord Halifax, who fet it first on foot, seemed resolved to carry on till it were finished: It will set learning again on foot among us, and be a great honour to the Queen's reign.

Thus this fession of Parliament came to a very happy conclusion: There was in it the best harmony within both Houses, and between them, as well as with the Crown, and it was the best applauded in the city of London, over the whole nation, and indeed over all Europe, of any fession that I had ever feen: And when it was confidered, that this was the first of the three, so that we were to have two other fessions of the same members, it gave an universal satisfaction, both to our own people at home, and our allies abroad, and afforded a profpect of a happy end, that should be put to this devouring war, which in all probability must come to a period, before the conclusion of the present Parliament. This gave an unspeakable satisfaction to all who loved their country and their religion, who now hoped that we had in view a good and a fate peace.

The Convocation fate at the fame time; it was Proceedchosen as the former had been, and the members, ings in that were ill-affected, were still prevailed on to Convocacome up, and to continue in an expensive but useless attendance in town. The Bishops drew up an address to the Queen, in which, as the two Houses of Parliament had done, they expressed a just indignation at the jealousies, that had been spread

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about the nation, of the danger of the Church: When this was communicated to the Lower House, they refused to join in it, but would give no reason for their refusal: They drew an address of their own, in which no notice was taken of these asperfions: The Bishops, according to antient precedents, required them either to agree to their address, or to offer their objections against it; they would do neither; fo the address was let fall: And upon that, a stop was put to all further communication between the two Houses. The Lower House, upon this, went on in their former practice of intermediate fessions, in which they began to enter upon business, to approve of some books, and to censure others; and they resolved to proceed upon the fame grounds, that factious men among them had before fet up, though the falshood of their pretensions had been evidently made to appear. The Archbishop had prorogued them to the first of March: When that day came, the Lower House was furprized with a protestation, that was brought to the Upper House, by a great part of their body, who, being diffatisfied with the proceedings of the majority, and having long struggled against them, though in vain, at last drew up a protestation against them: They fent it up and down, through the whole province, that they might get as many hands to it as they could; but the matter was managed with fuch caution, that though it was in many hands, yet it was not known to the other fide, till they heard it was presented to the President of the Upper House: In it, all the irregular motions of the Lower House were reckoned up, insisting more particularly on that of holding intermediate fessions, against all which they protested, and prayed that their protestation might be entered in the books of the Upper House, that so they might not be involved in the guilt of the rest: This was signed by above fifty, and the whole body was but an hundred and forty-five: Some were neutral: So that ch:

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that hereby very near one half broke off from the 1706. reft, and left them, and fate no more with them. The Lower House was deliberating how to vent their indignation against these, when a more sensible mortification followed: The Archbishop sent for them, and when they came up; he read a letter to them, that was wrote to him by the Queen, in which the took notice that the differences between the two Houses were still kept up; she was much concerned, to fee that they were rather increased than abated: She was the more furprized at this, because it had been her constant care, as it should continue always to be, to preferve the constitution of the Church, as it was by law established, and to discountenance all divisions and innovations whatfoever: She was refolved to maintain her fupremacy, and the due subordination of Presbyters to Bishops, as fundamental parts of it : She expetted, that the Archbishop and Bishiops would act alove A conformable to this resolution, and in so doing they nally me thould be fure of the continuance of her protection and favour, which should not be wanting to any of the clergy, as long as they were true to the conflitution, and dutiful to Her, and their ecclefiaftical superiors, and preserved such a temper, as became those, who were in holy orders. The Archbilhop, as he was required to read this to them, fo he was directed to prorogue them, for fuch a time as should appear convenient to him: They were truck with this, for it had been carried fo fecretly, that it was a furprize to them all. When they faw they were to be prorogued, they ran very indecently to the door, and with some difficulty were kept in the room, till the prorogation was intimated to them: They went next to their own house, where, though prorogued, they fate still in form, as if they had been a house, but they did not venture on passing any vote: So factious were they, and so implicitly led by those, who had got an ascendant over them, that though they had formerly submitted MIVOL. IV.

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1706. the matters in debate to the Queen, yet now, when The declared her pleasure, they would not acquiesce The Lower blonds was dall accorded by the Land

the campaigh.

Preparati- The fession of Parliament being now at an end. the preparations for the campaign were carried on with all possible dispatch: That which was most preffing was first done. Upon Stanhope's first coming over, in the beginning of January, orders were immediately iffued out for fending over 5000 men, with all necessary stores to Spain: The orders were given in very preffing terms; yet for many offices were concerned in the execution, that many delays were made, some of these were much censured; at last they failed in March. The fleet that had gone into the Mediterranean with King Charles, and was to return and winter at Lifbon, was detained by westerly winds longer in those seas, than had been o billions, an turdamental care of it agordid or

A revolt The people of Valencia feemed to hope, that in Valen-they were to winter in those seas; and by this they were encouraged to declare for King Charles: But they were much exposed to those, who commanded in King Philip's name. All Catalonia had fubmitted to King Charles except Roses; garrisons were put in Gironne, Lerida, and Tortofa: And the States of that Principality prepared themselves, with great zeal and resolution, for the next campaign, which, they had reason to expect, would come both early and feverely upon them. There was a breach, between the Earl of Peterborough and the Prince of Lichtenstein, whom he charged very heavily, in the King's own presence, with corruption and injustice: The matter went far, and the King blamed the Earl of Peterborough, who had not much of a forbearing or forgiving temper in him. There was no method of communication with England yet fettled: We did not hear from them, nor they from us, in five months: This put them out of all hope: Our men wanted every Ithing, and could be supplied there with nothing.

A cantara

The revolt in Valencia made it necessary to fend, 1706. fuch a fupply to them from Barcelona, as could be spared from thence: The disgust that was taken. made it adviseable to send the Earl of Peterborough. thither, and he willingly undertook the fervice: He marched towards that kingdom with about fifteen hundred English, and a thousand Spaniards: They were all ill equipped and ill furnished, without artillery, and with very little ammunition: But as they marched, all the country either came in to them, or fled before them. He got to Valencia without any opposition, and was received there with all possible demonstrations of joy: This gave a great disturbance to the Spanish councils at Madrid: They advised the King, to begin with the reduction of Valencia: It lay nearer, and was easier come at: And by this the disposition to revolt would be checked, which might otherwise go further: But this was over-ruled from France, where little regard was had to the Spaniards: They refolved to begin with Barcelona: In it King Charles himself lay; and on taking it, they reckoned all the rest would fall.

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The French resolved to send every thing that The siege was necessary for the siege by sea, and the Count of of Barce-Toulouse was ordered to lie with the fleet before lona. the place, whilst it was besieged by land: It was concerted, to begin the fiege in March, for they knew that if they begun it so early, our fleet could not come in time to relieve it: But two great ftorms, that came foon one after another, did fo catter their tartanes, and disable their ships of war, that as some were cast away, and others were much shattered, so they all lost a month's time, and the fiege could not be formed before the beginning of April: King Charles thut himself up in Barcelona, by which the people were both animated and kept in order: This gave all the Allies very fad apprehensions, they feared not only the loss of the place, but of his person. Leak failed from Lisbon in the

mans arc defeated 1706. end of March: He miffed the galleons very narrowly, but he could not purfue them; for he was to lose no time, but hafte to Barcelona: His fleet was increased to thirty ships of the line, by the time he got to Gibraltar; but though twenty more were following him, he would not ftay, but hafted on to the relief of the place, as fast as the wind ferved. Danhami lie bai

taken.

Alcantara At the same time the campaign, was opened on the fide of Portugal: The Earl of Gallway had full powers and a brave army of about 20000 men, well furnished in all respects: He left Badajos behind him, and marched on to Alcantara. The Duke of Berwick had a very fmall force left him, to defend that frontier: It feems the French trufted to the interest they had in the court of Portugal: His troops were so bad, that he saw in one small action, that he could not depend on them: He put a good garrison in Alcantara; where their best magazine was laid in. But when the Earl of Gallway came before the town, within three days the garrison, confifting of 4000 men, delivered up the place and themselves as prisoners of war ! The Portuguele would have stopped there, and thought they had made a good campaign, though they had done no more: But the English Ambassador at Lisbon went to the King of Portugal, and preffed him, that orders might be immediately fent to the Earl of Gallway to march on: And when he law a great coldness in some of the Ministers, he threatned a present rupture, if it was not done : And he continued waiting on the King, till the orders were figned, and fent away. Upon receipt of these, the Earl of Gallway advanced towards Placentia, all the country declaring for him, as foon as he appeared; and the Duke of Berwick still retiring before him, not being able to give the least interruption to his march.

The Germans are defeated in Italy.

The campaign was opened in Italy with great advantage to the French: The Duke of Vendome marched abo lie of in tire

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marched into the Brescian, to attack the Imperia- 1706. lifts, before Prince Eugene could join them, who was now come very near: He fell on a body of about 12000 of them, being double their number; he drove them from their posts, with the loss of about 2000 men killed and taken; but it was believed there were as many of the French killed, as of the Imperialists. Prince Eugene came up within two days, and put all in order again: He retired to a furer post, waiting till the troops from Germany should come up: The slowness of the Germans was always fatal, in the beginning of the campaign: The Duke of Savoy was now reduced to great extremities: He saw the siege of Turin was deligned; he fortified to many out-posts, and put fo good a garrison in it, that he prepared well for a long fiege, and a great refistance: He wrote to the Queen, for a further supply of 50000 pounds, affuring her, that by that means the place should be put in fo good a state, that he would undertake that all should be done, which could be expected from brave and resolute men: And so careful was the Lord Treasurer to encourage him, that the courier was fent back the next day, after he came, with credit for the money. There was fome hopes of a peace, as there was an actual ceffation of war in Hungary: The Malecontents had been put in hopes, of a great diversion of the Emperor's forces, on the fide of Bavaria, where there was a great infurrection, provoked, as was faid, by the opprefnon of the imperial officers, who were to accustomed to be heavy in their quarters, that when they had the pretence, that they were among enemies, it may be eafily believed, there was much just occasion of complaint; and that they were guilty of great exactions and rapine. This looked formidably at first, and seemed to threaten a new war in those parts; but all was foon suppressed: The peafants had no officers among them, no discipline, nor magazines, and no place of strength: So they L 3

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1706. were quickly dispersed, and stricter orders were given, for the better regulating the military men, though it was not expected that these would be long observed.

The treaunion of the two

While matters were in this disposition abroad; ty for the the treaty for the union of the two kingdoms was brought on, and managed with great folemnity. kingdoms Commissions were given out for thirty-two persons of each kingdom, to meet at London on the 18th of April: Somerset-House was appointed for the place of the treaty; the persons, who were named to treat on the English side, were well chosen: They were the most capable of managing the treaty, and the best disposed to it, of any in the kingdom. Those who came from Scotland, were not looked on as men fo well affected to the defign: Most of them had stood out in a long and firm oppolition to the revolution, and to all that had been done afterwards, purfuant to it. The nomination of these was fixed on, by the Dukes of Queensbury and Argyle: It was faid by them, that though these objections did indeed lie against them, yet they had fuch an interest in Scotland, that the engaging them to be cordially for the union, would be a great means to get it agreed to, in the Parliament there: The Scotch had got among them the notion of a feederal union, like that of the United Provinces, or of the Cantons in Switzerland: But the English resolved to lose no time, in the examining or discussing of that project, for this reason, besides many others, that as long as the two nations had two different Parliaments, they could break that union whenfoever they pleafed; for each nation would follow their own Parliament: The defign was now to fettle a lasting and indisfoluble union between the kingdoms, therefore they refolved to treat only, about an incorporating union, that should put an end to all distinctions, and unite all their interests: So they at last entered upon the scheme of an entire union, But

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But now to look again into our affairs abroad: 1706. The French feemed to have laid the defign of their campaign fo well, that it had every where a formidable appearance: And if the execution had answered their scheme, it would have proved as glorious, as it was in the conclusion fatal to them. They reckoned the taking of Barcelona and Turin fure: And by these, they thought the war, both in Spain and Italy, would be foon brought to an end: They knew they would be superior to any force, that the Prince of Baden could bring together, on the upper Rhine; and they intended to have a great army in Flanders, where they knew our chief strength would be, to act as occasion or their other affairs should require. But how well loever this delign might feem to be laid, it appeared providence had another: Which was brought to bear every where, in a most wonderful manner, and in reverse to all their views. The steps of this, I intend to set out, rather as a meditation on the providence of God, than as a particular history of this fignal year, for which I am no way furnished: Besides that, if I were, it does not aniwer my principal delign in writing.

The French lay thirty-feven days before Barcelona: Of that time, twenty-two were ipent in taking Mountjoy; they seemed to think there was no danger of raising the siege, and that therefore they might proceed as flowly as they pleafed: The town was under fuch a consternation, that nothing but the King's presence could have kept them from capitulating, the first week of the siege: There were some mutinies raised, and some of the magultrates were killed in them: But the King came among them on all occasions, and both quieted and animated them. Stanhope wrote, after the liege was over, (whether as a courtier or not, I cannot tell, for he had now the character of the Queen's Envoy to King Charles) that the King went into all places of danger, and made all about

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1506. him examples to the reft, to be hard at work, and conftant upon duty. After Mountjoy was taken the town was more pressed: The Earl of Peterborough came from Valencia, and was upon the hills, but could not give them any great affiftance; Some few from Gironne, and other places, got into the town! The French engineers performed their part, with little fkill and fuccess; those they relied most on, happened to be killed in the beginning of the fiege. The Levant wind was all this white fo ftrong, that it was not possible for Leak to come up fo foon as was defired, to their relief, wads made probable in

The fiege of Barcelona raifed.

But when their strength, as well as their patience, was almost quite exhausted, the wind turned, and Leak with all possible haste failed to them: As foon as the Count of Toulouse had intelligence, that he was near him, he failed back to Toulon, Tesse, with King Philip (who was in the camp, but was not once named in any action) continued three days before Barcelona, after their fleet failed away: they could then have no hopes of carrying it, unless a storm at sea had kept our fleet at a distance: At last, on the first of May O. S. the fiege was raifed, with great precipitation, and in much diforder: Their camp was left well furnished, and the fick and wounded could not be carried off. orolonera

An eclipse On the day of the raising the siege, as the of the fun. French army was marching off, the fun was eclipfed, and it was total in those parts: It is certain that there is no weight to be laid on fuch things; yet the vulgar being apt to look on them as ominous, it was centured as a great error in Teffé, not to have raifed the fiege a day fooner; and that the rather, because the King of France had made the fun, with a motto of Nec pluribus Impar, his device. King Philip made all the hafte he could to Perpignan, but his army was almost quite ruined, before he got thither: There was no manner e

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of communication, over land, between Barcelona 1706. and Portugal: So the Portugueze, doubting the iffue of that fiege, had no mind to engage further, till they faw how it ended: Therefore they ordered The Earl their army to march aside to Ciudad Roderigo, of Gallon pretence that it was necessary to secure their way adfrontier, by taking that place: It was taken after vanced. a very short siege, and with small resistance: From thence they advanced to Salamanca. But upon the news of raising the Siege of Barcelona, they went on towards Madrid; the Duke of Berwick only observing their motions, and still retiring before them. King Philip went, with great expedi- King Phition, and a very small train, from Perpignan to lipcame to Navarre, from thence he came post to Madrid; and soon but finding he had no army, that he could trust left it. to, the Grandees being now retired, and looking as fo many dead men; and he feeing that the Portugueze were still advancing, sent his Queen to Burgos, and followed her in a few days, carrying with him that which was valuable in the palace; And it feems he despaired ever to return thither again, fince he destroyed all that could not be earried away; in which he acted a very extraordinary part, for he did some of this with his own hand; as the gentleman, whom the Earl of Gallway fent over, told me was univerfally believed in Madrid.

The capital city being thus forsaken, the Earl of The Earl Gallway came to it by the end of June; he met of Gallwith and resistance indeed, but with as little well way came to it, but come: An army of Portugueze, with a heretick King at their head, were certainly very strange sights Charles to the Castilians, who retained all the pride, with delayed out any of the courage, of their ancestors: They too long thought it below them to make their submissions to thither. any, but to the King himself; and if King Charles had come thither immediately, it was believed that the entire reduction of Spain would have been soon brought about. It is not yet certain, what

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1706.

made him flay fo long as he did at Barcelona, even from the beginning of May till near the end of July. Those about him pretended, it was not fit to go to Madrid, till he was well furnished with money, to make a decent entry: Stanhope offered to furnish him with what was necessary for the journey, but could not afford a magnificent equipage for a folemn entry. King Charles wrote a very pressing letter to the Duke of Marlborough, setting forth his necessities, and defiring greater supplies; I faw this letter, for the Duke fent it over to the Lord Treasurer: But little regard was had to it, because it was suggested from many different hands that the Prince of Lichtenstein was enriching himself, and keeping his King poor. Others pretended the true cause of the delay was a secret amour of that King's at Barcelona; whatfoever the cause of it might be, the effects have hitherto proved fatal: It was first proposed, that King Charles should march thro' Valencia, as the nearest and much the fafest way, and he came on that design as far as Tarracona: But advice being brought him there, that the kingdom of Arragon was in a good disposition to declare for him, he was diverted from his first intentions and prevailed on to go to Saragoza; where he was acknowledged by that kingdom: But he loft much time, and more in the reputation of his arms, by delaying fo long to The Earl move towards Madrid: So King Philip took heart, -Hatte and came back from Burgos to Madrid, The Earl of Gallway was very uneasy at this slow motion, which King Charles made: King Philip had fome more troops fent him from France, and the broken bodies of his army, being now brought together, he had an army equal in numbers to the Earl of Gallway, and so he marched up to him; but fince so much depended on the issue of an action, the Earl of Gallway avoided it, because he expected every day reinforcements, to be brought up to him, both by King Charles, and by the Earl).

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Earl of

of Peterborough from Valencia: Therefore to fa- 1706. cilitate this conjunction, he moved towards Arragon; fo that Madrid was again left to be possessed by King Philip. At last, in the beginning of August, king Charles came up, but with a very inconfiderable force: A few days after, the Earl of Peterborough came also with an Escorte, rather than any strength; for he had not with him above 500 dragoons. He was now uneafy, because he could not have the supreme command, both the Earl of Gallway and Count Noyelles being much ancienter officers, than he was. But to deliver him from the uneafiness, of being commanded by them, the Queen had fent him the powers of an ambaffador extraordinary; and he took that character on him for a few days. complaining, so much as he did, of the Prince of Lichtenstein and the Germans, who were still possessed of King Charles's confidence, made him very unacceptable to that King: So he, waiting for orders from the Queen, withdrew from the camp, and failed away in one of the Queen's ships to Genoa. Our fleet lay all the fummer in the Mediterranean; which obliged the French to keep theirs within Toulon. Cartagena declared for King Charles, and was fecured by fome of our thips: The fleet came before Alicant; the feamen landed and stormed the town; the castle held out some weeks, but then it capitulated, and the foldiers by articles were obliged to march to Cadiz. Soon after that, our fleet failed out of the Streights; one squadron was fent to the West-Indies; another was to lie at Lifbon, and the reft were ordered home. After King Charles had joined Lord Gallway, King Philip's army and his looked on one another for some time, but without venturing on any action; They were near an equality, and both fides expected to be reinforced; so in that uncertainty, neither fide would put any thing to hazard.

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156 1706. of Ramellies.

But now I turn to another and a greater scene: The King of France was affured, that the King of Denmark would frand upon some high demands, he made to the allies, so that the Duke of Marlborough could not have the Danes, who were about ten or twelve thousand, to join him for some time: and that the Prussians, almost as many as the Danes, could not come up to the confederate army, for some weeks; so he ordered the Elector of Bavaria and Villeroy to march up to them, and to venture on a battle; fince, without the Danes, they would have been much superior in number. The States yielded to all Denmark's demands, and the Prince of Wirtemberg, who commanded their troops, being very well affected, reckoned that all being granted, he needed not stay, till he fent to Denmark, nor wait for their express orders: But marched and joined the army, the day before the engagement. Some thought, that the King of France, upon the news of the difgrace before Barcelona, that he might cover that, relolved to put all to venture, hoping that a victory would have fet all to rights; this paffed generally in the world. But the Duke of Marlborogh told me, that there being only twelve days, between the raifing of the fiege of Barcelona and this battle, the one being on the first of May, and the other on the twelfth, eight of which must be allowed for the courier to Paris, and from thence to Brabant, it feemed not possible to put things in the order, in which he faw them, in fo short a time. The French left their baggage and heavy cannon at Judoign; and marched up to the Duke of Marlborough: He was marching towards them, on the fame design, for if they had not offered him battle on the twelfth, he was refolved to have attacked them on the thirteenth of May: They met near a village called Ramellies (not far from the Mehaigne) from whence the battle takes it's name.

A great victory gained.

The engagement was an entire one; and the action was hot for two hours; both the French Moulquetaires But

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1705.

quetaires and the Cuiraffiers were there; the Elector of Bavaria faid, it was the best army he ever beheld: But after two hours, the French gave way every where, so it ended in an entire defeat. They loft both their camp, baggage and artillery, as well as all that they had left in Judoign; and in all possible confusion, they passed the Dyle; our men purfuing, till it was dark. The Duke of Mariborough faid to me, the French army looked the beft of any he had ever feen: But that their officers did not do their part, nor shew the courage, that had appeared among them on other occasions. And when I asked him the difference, between the actions at Hockstedt and at Ramellies; he faid, the first battle lafted between feven and eight hours, and we loft above 12000 men in it; whereas the fecond of all lasted not above two hours, and we lost not above 2500 men. Orders were prefently fent to the great -branches cities, to draw the garrisons out of them, that fo all all the French might have again the face of an army! For their killed, their defecters, and their prifoners, on this great day, were above 2000 men. The Duke of Marlborough loft no time, But followed them close: Louvain, Mechlin, and Bruffels lub-Flanders mitted, belides many leffer places; Antwerp made and Braa shew of standing out, but soon followed the ex-bant reample of the rest; Ghent and Bruges did the same? duced. in all these King Charles was proclaimed. Upon this unexpected rapidity of fuccess, the Duke of Marlborough went to the Hague, to concert meafures with the States, where he flaid but few days, for they agreed to every thing he proposed, and fent him back with full powers: The first thing he undertook was the fiege of Oftend, a place famous for Oftend it's long fiege in the last age: The natives of the and Menin place were disposed to return to the Austrian family, taken. and the French, that were in it, had so lost all heart and spirit, that they made not the resistance, that was looked for: In ten days, after they fate down before it, and within four days after the batteries

1705.

teries were finished, they capitulated. From thence the confederates went to Menin, which was efteemed the best finished fortification, in all those parts: It was built after the peace of Nimeguen; nothing that art could contrive was wanting, to render it impregnable; and it was defended by a garrifon of 6000 men, so that many thought it was too bold an undertaking, to fit down before it. The French army was become confiderable, by great detachments brought from the Upper Rhine; where Marefchal Villars was fo far superior to the Germans, that, if it had not been for this revulsion of his forces, the circles of Suabia and Franconia would have been much exposed to pillage and contribution

The Duke of Vendome commanded in Flanders.

and Menie

editor '

The Duke of Vendome's conduct in Italy had to raifed his character, that he was thought the only man, fit to be at the head of the army in Flanders: fo he was fent for, and had that command given him, with a very high compliment, which was very injurious to the other officers, fince he was declared to be the fingle man, on whom France could depend, and by whom it could be protected, in that extre-The Duke of Orleans was fent to command mity. in Italy, and Mareschal Marsin was sent with him to affift, or rather in reality to govern him: And lo obstinately was the King of France set, on pursuing his first designs, that notwithstanding his disgraces both in Spain and in the Netherlands, yet (fince he had ordered all the preparations for the fiege of Turin) he would not defift from that attempt, but or dered it to be purfued, with all possible vigour. The fiege of Menin was, in the mean while, carried on fo fuccessfully, that the trenches were opened on the 24th of July, and the batteries were finished on the 29th: and they preffed the place fo warmly, that they capitulated on the 11th of August, and marched out on the 14th, being St. Lewis's day; 4000 men marched out of the place. of badoof save sail R

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It seemed strange, that a garrison, which was still formimerous, should give up, in so short a time, a place that was both fo ftrong and fo well furnished: But as the French were much funk, so the allies were now become very expert at carrying on of fieges; and spared no cost that was necessary for dif- leb s patch. Dendermonde had been, for some weeks, under a blockade: this, the Duke of Marlborough ordered to be turned into a formal fiege. The place Denderwas fo furrounded with water, that the King of monde France, having once begun a fiege there, was forced and Aeth to raile it; yet it was now fo pressed, that the garrifon offered to capitulate, but the Duke of Marlborough would give them no other terms, but those of being prisoners of war, to which they were forced to fubmit. Aeth was next invested, it lay so inconveniently between Flanders and Brabant, that it was necessary to clear that communication, and to deliver Bruffels from the danger of that neighbourhood In a fortnight's time, it was also obliged to capitulate, and the garrison were made prisoners of

of it; he came only to reftore the people to asm. During those fieges, the Duke of Vendome, having fixed himself in a camp, that could not be forced, did not think fit to give the Duke of Mariborough any diffurbance; while he lay with his army covering the fleges: The French were jealous of the Elector of Bavaria's heat, and though he defired to command an army apart, yet it was not thought fit to divide the forces, though now grown to be very numerous. Deferters faid, the pannick was still so great in the army, that there was no appearance of their venturing on any action: Paris it lelf was under a high consternation, and though the King carried his misfortunes with an appearance of calmness and composure, yet he was often let blood, which was thought an indication of a great commotion within; and this was no doubt the greater, because it was so much disguised. No news was talked of at that court; all was filent and folemn; to

1706.

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1706.

that even the Dutchess Downger of Obleans knew not the true state of their affairs, which made her write to her aunt, the Electoress of Hanover, to learn Bue as the French were much lunk, fel to swen

Defigns cent in France.

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and in Flans

There was another alarm given them, which for a def- heightened the diforder they were in ! The Queen and the States formed a defign of a defcent in France, with an army of about 10000 foot and 1200 horse. as were bard of Rivers commanded the land-army as showell did a royal fleet, what was bo convoy them, and to fecure their landing; it was to be near Bourdeaux; but the fecret was then fo well kepty that the French could not penetrate into it; fo the alarm was general It put all the maritime counties of France to a valt charge, and under difmal apprehentions : Officers were fent from the court to exercise them what they Taw what their militia was, and that was all their defence, of shave one of the smanifesto signature Barl of Rivers was ordered to publish, upon his landing. He declared by it, that he was come neither to pillage the country, ince to conquer any part of it; he came only to restore the people to their Aberties, and to have affemblies of the States, as they had untiently, and to reffore the Edicts to the Protestants , he promised protection to all that should consein to him! The troops were all put aboard a Portforouth, in the beginning of July, but they were kept in our ports by contrary winds, till the beginning of October: The defign on France was then laid afide to was too late in the year, for the Reet to fail into the bay of Bifcay and to lie there, for any confiderable time, in that feafon! The reduction of Spain was of the greatest importance to us; so new orders were fent them to fail first to Lifbon, and there to take fuch measures, as the flate of the affairs of Spain should require.

The fiege of Turin.

The flege of Turin was begun in May, and was continued till the beginning of September: There was a strong garrison within it, and it was well furnished, both with provisions and ammunition. The Duke CW her

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Duke

Duke of Savoy put all to the hazard: He fent his 1706. Dutchess with his children to Genoa; and himself, with a body of 3000 horse, was moving about Turin, from valley to valley, till that body was much diminished: for he was, as it were, hunted from place to place, by the Duke of Feuillade, who commanded in the fiege, and drove the Duke of Savoy before him: fo that all hope of relief lay in Prince Eugene. The garrison made a noble resistance, and maintained their outworks long; they blew up many mines, and disputed every inch of ground, with great resolution: They lost about 6000 men, who were either killed, or had deferted during the fiege; and their powder was at last so spent, that they must have capitulated within a day or two, if they had not been relieved. The fiege cost the French very dear; they were often forced to change their attacks, and lost about 1 4000 men before the place; for they were frequently beat from the posts, that they had gained.

Prince Eugene made all the hafte he could to Prince their relief: The court of Vienna had not given due Eugene orders, as they had undertaken, for the provision marches of the troops, that were to march through their to raile it. country, to join him: This occasioned many complaints, and some delay. The truth was, that court was to much fet on the reduction of Hungary, that all other things were much neglected, while that alone feemed to possess them. A treaty was set on foot with the malecontents there, by the mediation of England and of the States; a ceffation of arms was agreed to, for two months: All that belonged to that court were very uneafy, while that continued; they had shared among them the confilcations of all the great estates in Hungary, and they saw, that if a peace was made, all these would be vacated, and the estates would be restored to their former owners: fo they took all possible means to traverse the negotiation, and to inflame the Emperor. There feemed to be some probability, of bringing VOL. IV.

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1706. things to a fettlement, but that could not be brought to any conclusion, during the term of the ceffation; when that was lapfed, the Emperor could not be prevailed on to renew it: He recalled his troops from the Upper Rhine, though that was contrary to all his agreements with the empire. Notwithstanding all this ill management of the court of Vienna, Prince Eugene got together the greatest part of those troops, that he expected in the Veronese, before the end of June: They were not yet all come up, but he, believing himself strong enough, resolved to advance; and he left the Prince of Hesse, with a body to receive the rest, and by them to force a diversion, while he should be going on. The Duke of Vendome had taken care of all the fords of the Adige, the Mincio, and the Oglio; and had cast up such lines and entrenchments every where, that he had affured the court of France, it was not possible for Prince Eugene to break thro' all that opposition, at least to do it in any time to relieve Turin. By this time the Duke of Orleans was come to take the army out of Vendome's hands: but before that Duke had left it, they faw that he had reckoned wrong, in all those hopes he had given the court of France, of stopping Prince Eugene's march. For, in the beginning of July, he fent a few battalions over one of the fords of the Adige, where the French were well posted, and double their number; yet they ran away with fuch precipitation, that they left every thing behind them: Upon that, Prince Eugene passed the Adige, with his whole army, and the French, in a consternation, retired behind the Mincio. After this, Prince Eugene furprized the French with a motion, that they had not looked for, nor prepared against, for he passed the Po; the Duke of Orleans followed him, but declined an engagement; whereupon Prince Eugene wrote to the Duke of Marlborough, that he felt the effects of the battle of Ramellies, even in Italy, the French feeming to be every where dispiritght,

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ed with their misfortunes. Prince Eugene, march- 1706. ing nearer the Apennines, had gained fome days march of the Duke of Orleans; upon which, that Duke repassed the Po, and advanced with such halte towards Turin, that he took no care of the pass at Stradella, which might have been kept and disputed for some days: Prince Eugene found no opposition there; nor did he meet with any other difficulty, but from the length of the march, and the heat of the feafon; for he was in motion all the months of July and August.

In the beginning of September, the Duke of Savoy joined him, with the small remnants of his army, and they hasted on to Turin. The Duke of Orleans had got thither before them, and the place was now reduced to the last extremities; the Duke of Orleans, with most of the chief officers, were for marching out of the trenches; Marfin was of another mind, and when he found it hard to maintain his opinion, he produced positive orders for it, which put an end to the debate. The Duke of Savoy faw the necessity of attacking them, in their trenches; his army confifted of 28000 men, but they were good troops; the French were above 40000, and in a well fortified camp; yet after two hours refistance, the Duke of Savoy broke through, and then there was a great destruction; the French flying in much diforder, and leaving a vast treasure in their camp, besides great stores of provisions, ammunition and artillery. It was fo entire a defeat, The that not above 1600 men, of that great army, got Frencharoff in a body; and they made all the hafte they my routcould into Dauphiny. The Duke of Savoy went fiege raifinto Turin; where it may be eafily imagined, he ed. was received with much joy; the garrison, for want of powder, was not in a condition to make a fally on the French, while he attacked them; the French were purfued as far as men, wearied with fuch an action, could follow them, and many priloners were taken. The Duke of Orleans, though

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1706. he lost the day, yet gave great demonstrations of courage, and received feveral wounds: Mareschal Marsin fell into the enemies hands, but died of his wounds in a few hours; and upon him all the errors of this difmal day were cast, though the heavieft part of the load fell on Chamillard, who was then in the supreme degree of favour at court, and was entirely possessed of madam Maintenon's confidence. Feuillade had married his daughter, and in order to the advancing him, he had the command of this fiege given him, which was thus obstinately purfued, till it ended in this fatal manner. The obstinacy continued, for the King sent orders, for a month together, to the Duke of Orleans, to march back into Piedmont, when it was absolutely imposfible; yet repeated orders were fent, and the reason of this was understood afterwards: madam Maintenon (it feems) took that care of the King's health and humour, that she did not suffer the ill state of his affairs to be fully told him: He, all that while, was made believe, that the fiege was only raised, upon the advance of Prince Eugene's army; and knew not that his own was defeated and ruined. I am not enough versed in military affairs, to offer any judgment upon that point, whether they did well or ill, not to go out of their camp to fight: It is certain, that the fight was more diforderly, and the loss was much greater, by reason of their lying within their lines: In this I have known men of the trade of different opinions.

While this was done at Turin, the Prince of Hesse advanced to the Mincio, which the French abandoned; but as he went to take Castiglione, Medavi, the French General, surprized him, and cut off about 2000 of his men; upon which he was forced to retire to the Adige. The French magnified this excessively, hoping with the noise they made about it, to balance their real loss at Turin. The Prince of Vaudemont, upon the news from Turin, left the city of Milan, and retired, with the small force

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he had, to Cremona: The Duke of Savoy and 1706. Prince Eugene marched, with all hafte, into the Milaneze: The city of Milan was opened to them; but the citadel and some strong places, that had garrisons in them, stood out some time; yet place after place capitulated, fo that it was visible, all

would quickly fall into their hands.

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Such a fuccession of eminent misfortunes, in one campaign, and in fo many different places, was without example: It made all people conclude, that the time was come, in which the perfidy, the tyranny, and the cruelty of that King's long and bloody reign, was now to be repaid him, with the fame fevere measure, with which he had formerly treated others: But the fecrets of God are not to be too boldly pried into, till he is pleafed to difplay them to us more openly. It is certainly a year, that deferves to be long and much remembred.

In the end of the campaign, in which Poland The King had been haraffed, with the continuance of the of Sweden war, but without any great action; the King of into Saxo-Sweden, feeing that King Augustus supported his ny. affairs in Poland, by the supplies both of men and money, that he drew from his electorate, resolved to ftop that reffource: So he marched through Silefia and Lufatia into Saxony. He quickly made himself master of an open country, that was looking for no fuch invalion, and was in no fort prepared for it, and had few ftrong places in it, capable of any refistance: The rich town of Leipfick and all the rest of the country was, without any opposition, put under contribution. All the empire was alarmed at this; it was at first apprehended, that it was fet on by the French councils, to raile a new war in Germany, and to put the North all in a flame. The King of Sweden gave it out, that he had no defign to give any difturbance to the empire: That he intended, by this M 3

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1706.

march, only to bring the war of Poland to a speedy conclusion; and it was reasonable to believe, that fuch an unlooked for incident would foon bring that war to a criss.

A treaty of union concluded

This was the state of our affairs abroad, in this glorious and ever-memorable year. At home, another matter of great confequence was put in a good and promifing method: The commissioners of both kingdoms fate close in a treaty, till about the middle of July; in conclusion, they prepared a compleat scheme of an entire union of both nations: Some particulars being only referred, to be lettled by their Parliaments respectively. When every thing was agreed to, they presented one copy of the treaty to the Queen, and each fide had a copy, to be presented to their respective Parliament, all the three copies being figned by the Commissioners of both kingdoms: It was refolved to lay the matter first before the Parliament of Scotland, because it was apprehended, that it would meet with the greatest opposition there.

The union of the two kingdoms was a work, of which many had quite despaired, in which number I was one; and those who entertained better hopes, thought it must have run out into a long negotiation for feveral years: But beyond all mens expectation, it was begun and finished, within the compass of one. The Commissioners, brought cles of the up from Scotland, for the treaty, were fo strangely choien (the far greater number having continued in an opposition to the government, ever fince the revolution) that from thence many concluded, that it was not fincerely defigned by the ministry, when they saw such a nomination. This was a piece of the Earl of Stair's cunning, who did heartily promote the defign: He then thought, that if fuch a number of those, who were looked on as Jacobites, and were popular men on that account, among the difaffected there, could

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the work would be much the easier, when laid before the Parliament of Scotland: And in this the event shewed, that he took right measures. The Lord Somers had the chief hand, in projecting the scheme of the union, into which all the Commissioners of the English nation went very easily: The advantages, that were offered to Scotland, in the whole frame of it, were so great, and so visible, that nothing but the consideration of the safety, that was to be procured by it to England, could have brought the English to agree to a project, that, in every branch of it, was much more favourable to the Scotch nation.

They were to bear less, than the fortieth part of the publick taxes: When four shillings in the pound was levied in England, which amounted to two millions, Scotland was only to be taxed at 48000 pounds, which was eight months affefiment: They had been accustomed for some years to pay this, and they faid it was all that the nation could bear. It is held a maxim, that in the framing of a government, a proportion ought to be observed, between the share in the legislature, and the burden to be born; yet in return of the fortieth part of the burden, they offered the Scotch near the eleventh part of the legislature: For the Peers of Scotland were to be represented, by fixteen Peers in the House of Lords, and the Commons, by forty-five members in the House of Commons; and these were to be chosen, according to the methods, to be fettled in the Parliament of Scotland. And fince Scotland was to pay cuftoms and excises, on the fame foot with England, and was to bear a share in paying much of the debt, England had contracted during the war; 398000 pounds was to be railed in England, and fent into Scotland, as an equivalent for that; and that was to be applied to the recoining the money, that all might be of one denomination and standard, and to paying the pub-M 4

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1706, lick debts of Scotland, and repaying, to their African company, all their losses with interest; upon which that company was to be diffolved; and the over-plus of the equivalent was to be applied, to the encouragement of manufactures. Trade was to be free all over the island, and to the plantations; private rights were to be preserved; and the judicatories and laws of Scotland were still to be continued: But all was put, for the future, under the regulation of the Parliament of Great Britain; the two nations now were to be one kingdom, under the fame fuccession to the Crown, and united in one Parliament. There was no provision made in this treaty, with relation to religion: For in the acts of Parliament, in both kingdoms, that empowered the Queen to name Commissioners, there was an express limitation, that they should not treat of those matters.

Debated long in the Parliament of Scotland.

This was the substance of the articles of the treaty, which being laid before the Parliament of Scotland, met with great opposition there. It was visible, that the nobility of that kingdom suffered a great diminution by it; for though it was agreed, that they should enjoy all the other privileges of the Peers of England, yet the greatest of them all, which was the voting in the House of Lords, was restrained to sixteen, to be elected by the rest at every new Parliament; yet there was a greater majority of the nobility, that concurred in voting for the union, than in the other States of that kingdom. The Commissioners from the shires and boroughs were almost equally divided, though it was evident they were to be the chief gainers by it; among these the union was agreed to, by a very fmall majority: It was the nobility, that in every vote turned the scale for the union : They were severely reflected on, by those who opposed it; it was faid, many of them were bought off, to fell their country and their birth-right: All those, who adhered inflexibly to the Jacobite interest, opposed ri-

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every step that was made, with great vehemence; 1706. for they faw that the union struck at the root of all their views and defigns, for a new revolution. Yet these could not have raised or maintained so great an oppolition, as was now made; if the Prefbyterians had not been possessed with a jealousty, that the consequence of this union would be, the change of church-government among them, and that they would be swallowed up by the church of England. This took fuch root in many, that no affurances, that were offered, could remove their fears: It was infused in them chiefly by the old Dutchess of Hamilton, who had great credit with them: And it was suggested, that she, and her fon, had particular views, as hoping, that if Scotland should continue a separated kingdom, the Crown might come into their family, they being the next in blood, after King James's posterity. The infusion of such apprehensions had a great effect on the main body of that party, who could fcarce be brought to hearken, but never to accept of the offers, that were made for lecuring their Presbyterian government. A great part of the gentry of that kingdom, who had been oft in England, and had observed the protection, that all men had from a House of Commons, and the security that it procured, against partial judges, and a violent ministry, entred into the delign with great zeal. The opening a free trade, not only with England, but with the plantations, and the protection of the fleet of England, drew in those who underitood these matters, and saw there was no other way in view, to make the nation rich and confiderable. Those who had engaged far into the design of Darien, and were great lolers by it, law now an honourable way to be reimburfed, which made them wish well to the union, and promote it. But that which advanced the defign most effectually, and without which, it could not have succeeded, was, that a confiderable number of noblemen and

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1706. gentlemen, who were in no engagements with the court (on the contrary, they had been disabliged, and turned out of great posts, and some very lately) declared for it. These kept themselves very close and united, and feemed to have no other interest, but that of their country, and were for that reason called the Squadrone: The chief of these were, the Marquis of Tweedale, the Earls of Rothes, Roxburgh, Hadington, and Marchmont; they were in great credit, because they had no visible biass on their minds; ill usage had provoked them rather to oppose the ministry, than to concur in any thing, where the chief honour would be carried away by others. When they were spoke to by the ministry, they answered coldly, and with great referves, so it was expected they would have concurred in the opposition, and they being between twenty and thirty in number, if they had fet themfelves against the union, the design must have miscarried. But they continued still silent, till the first division of the House obliged them to declare, and then, they not only joined in it, but promoted it effectually, and with zeal: There were great and long debates, managed on the fide of the union, by the Earls of Seafield and Stair for the Ministry, and of the Squadrone by the Earl of Roxburgh and Marchmont; and against it by the Dukes of Hamilton and Athol and the Marquis of Annandale. The Duke of Athol was believed to be in a foreign correspondence, and was much set on violent methods: Duke Hamilton managed the debate with great vehemence, but was against all desperate motions: He had much to lose, and was resolved not to venture all, with those who fuggested the necessity of running, in the old Scotch way, to extremities. The topicks, from which the arguments against the union were drawn, were the antiquity and dignity of their kingdom, which was offered to be given up, and fold: They were departing from an independent

pendent state, and going to fink into a dependence on England; what conditions foever might be now speciously offered, as a security to them, they could not expect that they should be adhered to, or religiously maintained in a Parliament, where fixteen peers and forty five commoners could not hold the ballance, against above an hundred peers and five hundred and thirteen commoners. land would be no more confidered as formerly by foreign Princes and States: Their peers would be precarious and elective: They magnified their Crown, with the other regalia fo much, that fince the nation feemed refolved never to fuffer them to be carried away, it was provided, in a new clause added to the articles, that these should still remain within the kingdom. They infifted most vehemently on the danger, that the constitution of their church must be in, when all should be under the power of a British Parliament: This was pressed with fury by some, who were known to be the most violent enemies to Presbytery, of any in that nation: But it was done on defign, to inflame that body of men by those apprehensions, and so to engage them to perfift in their opposition. To allay that heat, after the general vote was carried for the union, before they entered on the confideration of the particular articles, an act was prepared for fecuring the Presbyterian Government: By which it was declared to be the only government of that church, unalterable in all fucceeding times, and the maintaining it was declared to be a fundamental and effential article and condition of the union; and this act was to be made a part of the act for the union, which in the confequence of that, was to be ratified by another act of Parliament in Eng-Thus those, who were the greatest enemies to Presbytery, of any in the nation, raised the clamour of the danger that form of government would be in, if the union went on, to fuch a heighth, that by their means this act was carried, as far as

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any human law could go, for their fecurity: For by this, they had, not only all the fecurity that their own Parliament could give them, but they were to have the faith and authority of the Parliament of England, it being, in the stipulation, made an effential condition of the union: The carrying this matter to far, was done in hopes, that the Parliament of England would never be brought to This act was passed, and it gave an entire fatisfaction to those, who were disposed to receive any; but nothing could fatisfy men, who made use of this, only to inflame others. Those who opposed the union, finding the majority was against them, fludied to raise a storm without doors, to frighten them: A fet of addresses against the union were sent round all the countries, in which, those who opposed it, had any interest: There came up many of these, in the name of counties and boroughs, and at last, from parishes: This made some noise abroad, but was very little confidered there, when it was known, by whose arts and practices they were procured. When this appeared to have little effect, pains were taken to animate the rabble to violent attempts, both at Edinburgh, and at Glafgow. Sir Patrick Johnston Lord provost of Edinburgh, had been one of the commissioners, and had concurred heartily in the design: A great multitude gathered about his house, and were forcing the doors on defign, as was believed, to murder him; but guards came and dispersed them. Upon this attempt, the Privy-Council fet out a proclamation against all such riots, and gave orders for quartering the guards within the town: But to shew, that this was not intended to over-awe the Parliament, the whole matter was laid before them, and the proceedings of the Privy-Council were approved. No other violent attempt was made after this, but the body of the people shewed so much fullenness, that probably, had any person of authority once kindled the fire, they feemed to be of fuch

fuch combustible matter, that the union might 1706. have cast that nation into great convulsions. These things made great impressions on the Duke of Queensbury, and on some about him: He despaired of succeeding, and he apprehended his person might be in danger: One about him wrote to my Lord Treasurer, representing the ill temper the nation was generally in, and moved for an adjournment, that so with the help of some time and good management, those difficulties, which seemed then might be conquered. The Lord insuperable, Treasurer told me, his answer was, that a delay was, upon the matter, laying the whole defign afide; orders were given, both in England and Ireland, to have troops ready upon call; and if it was neceffary, more forces should be ordered from Flanders: The French were in no condition to fend any affiltance to those, who might break out, so that the circumstances of the time were favourable; he defired therefore, that they would go on, and not be alarmed at the foolish behaviour of some, who, whatever might be given out in their names, he believed, had more wit than to ruin themselves. Every step that was made, and every vote that was carried, was with the fame strength, and met with the same opposition: Both parties giving strict attendance during the whole fession, which lasted for three months. Many protestations were printed, with every man's vote: In conclusion, the whole articles of the treaty were agreed to, with some 1707. small variations. The Earl of Stair, having maintained the debate on the last day, in which, all was At last concluded, died the next night fuddenly, his fpirits agreed to. being quite exhausted by the length and vehemence of the debate. The act passed, and was sent up to London in the beginning of February.

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The Queen laid it before the two Houses; the House of Commons agreed to it all, without any oppolition, to foon, that it was thought they interpoled not delay and confideration enough, fuit-

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able to the importance of fo great a transaction. The debates were longer and more folemn in the House of Lords; the Archbishop of Canterbury moved, that a bill might be brought in, for fecuring the church of England; by it, all acts, passed in favour of our church, were declared to be in full force for ever; and this was made a fundamental and effential part of the union. Some exceptions were taken to the words of the bill, as not fo ftrong as the act passed in Scotland seemed to be, since the government of it was not declared to be unalterable: But they were judged more proper, fince where a supreme legislature is once acknowledged, nothing can be unalterable. After this was over, the Lords entered upon the confideration of the articles, as they were amended in Scorland; it was pretended, that here a new constitution was made, the consequence of which, they faid, was the altering all the laws of England. All the judges were of opinion, that there was no weight in this; great exceptions were taken to the fmall proportion, Scotland was rated at, in the laying on of taxes; and their election of peers, to every new Parliament, was faid to be contrary to the nature of peerage. To all the objections that were offered, this general answer was made, that fo great a thing, as the uniting the whole island into one government, could not be compassed, but with some inconveniencies: But if the advantage of fafety and union, was greater than those inconveniencies, then a leffer evil must be submitted to. An elective peer was indeed a great prejudice to the Peers of Scotland, but fince they had submitted to it, there was no just occasion given to the Peers of England to complain of it. the debate held longest upon the matters, relating to the government of the church; it was faid, here was a real danger the church ran into, when to many votes, of persons tied to Presbytery, were admitted to a share in the legislature. All the rigour,

rigour, with which the episcopal Clergy had been 1707. treated in Scotland, was fet forth, to shew with how implacable a temper they were let against the Church of England; yet, in return to all that, it was now demanded, from the men of this church, to enact, that the Scotch form should continue unalterable, and to admit those to vote among us, who were such declared enemies to our constitution. Here was a plaufible subject for popular eloquence, and a great deal of it was brought out upon this occasion, by Hooper, Beveridge, and some other Bishops, and by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham. But to all this it was answered, that the chief dangers the church was in, were from France and from Popery: fo that whatfoever fecured us from these, delivered us from our justest fears. Scotland lay on the weakest fide of England, where it could not be defended, but by an army: The collieries on the Tine lay exposed for several miles, and could not be preserved, but at a great charge, and with a great force: If a war should fall out between the two nations, and if Scotland should be conquered, yet, even in that cale, it must be united to England, or kept under by an army: The danger of keeping up a standing force, in the hands of any Prince, and to be modelled by him (who might engage the Scotch to join with that army and turn upon England) was vilible: and any union, after such a conquest, would look like a force, and so could not be lasting; whereas all was now voluntary. As for church matters, there had been fuch violence used by all fides in their turns, that none of them could reproach the others much, without having it returned upon them too justly. A foster management would lay those heats, and bring men to a better temper: The Cantons of Switerzland, though very zealous in their different religions, yet were united in one general body: The diet of Germany was composed of men of three different religions:

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1707. fo that feveral constitutions of churches might be put under one legislature; and if there was a danger of either fide, it was much more likely that 513 would be too hard for 45, than that 45 would mafter 513; especially when the Crown was on their fide: and there were twenty fix Bishops in the House of Lords, to outweigh the fixteen votes from Scotland. It was indeed faid, that all in England were not zealous for the church; to which it was answered, that by the same reason it might be concluded, that all those of Scotland were not zealous for their way, especially when the favour of the court lay in the English scale. The matter was argued, for the union, by the Bishops of Oxford, Norwich and my felt, by the Lord Treasurer, the Earls of Sunderland and Wharton, and the Lords Townshend and Halifax; but above all, by the Lord Somers. Every division of the house was made, with fo great an inequality, that they were but 20, against 50 that were for the union. When all was agreed to, in both houses, a bill was ordered to be brought in to enact it; which was prepared by Harcourt, with fo particular a contrivance, that it cut off all debates. The preamble was a recital of the articles, as they were passed in Scotland, together with the Acts made in both Parliaments, for the security of their several churches; and in conclusion, there came one enacting clause, ratifying all. This put those upon great difficulties, who had refolved to object to feveral articles, and to infift on demanding some alterations in them: for they could not come at any debate about them; they could not object to the recital, it being merely matter of fact; and they had not strength enough, to oppose the general enacting claufe, nor was it eafy to come at particulars and to offer proviso's relating to them. The matter was carried on with fuch zeal, that it paffed through the House of Commons, before those, who intended to oppose it, had recovered themselves out of

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the surprize, under which the form, it was drawn in, had put them. It did not stick long in the House of Lords, for all the articles had been copiously debated there for several days, before the bill was sent up to them: And thus this great design, so long wished and laboured for in vain, was begun, and happily ended, within the compass of nine months. The union was to commence on the first of May, and 'till that time, the two kingdoms were still distinct, and their two Parliaments continued still to sit.

In Scotland, they proceeded to dispose of the The equifum, provided to be the equivalent: In this, great valent dispartialities appeared, which were much complained posed of, but there was not strength to oppose them.

The ministry and those who depended on them

The ministry, and those who depended on them, moved for very extravagant allowances to those, who had been employed in this last, and in the former treaty; and they made large allotments, of some publick debts, that were complained of as unreasonable and unjust; by which, a great part of the fum was diverted, from answering the end, for which it was given. This was much opposed by the Squadrone; but as the ministers promoted it, and those, who were to get by it, made all the interest they could to obtain it (some few of them only excepted, who, as became generous patriots, shewed more regard to the publick, than to their private ends) to those, who had opposed the union, were not ill pleased to see this sum so misapplied; hoping by that means, that the aversion, which they endeavoured to infuse into the nation against the union would be much encreased; therefore they let every thing go as the ministers proposed, to the great grief of those, who wished well to the publick. It was refolved, that the Parliament of England should fit out its period, which, by the law for Triennial Parliaments, ran yet a year further; it was thought necessary, to have another design continued of the same men, who had made

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1707. this union, fince they would more readily confolidate and strengthen their own work. Upon this ground. it feemed most proper that the members, to represent Scotland, should be named by the Parliament there: Those, who had opposed the union, carried their aversion to the Squadrone so far, that they concurred with the ministry in a nomination. in which very few of them were included, not above three of the peers, and fifteen commoners; fo that great and just exceptions lay against many, who were nominated to represent that kingdom: All this was very acceptable to those, who had opposed the union. The customs of Scotland were then in a farm, and the farmers were the creatures of the ministry, some of whom, as was believed, were sharers with them: It was visible, that since there was to be a free trade opened, between Scotland and England, after the first of May, and fince the duties in Scotland, laid on trade, were much lower than in England, that there would be a great importation into Scotland, on the prospect of the advantage, that might be made by fending it into England. Upon fuch an emergency, it was reasonable to break the farm, as had been ordinarily done upon less reason, and to take the customs into a new management, that fo the gain, to be made in the interval, might go to the publick, and not be left in private hands: But the leafe was continued in favour of the farmers. They were men of no interest of their own, so it was not doubted, but that there was a fecret practice in the case. Upon the view of the gain, to be made by fuch an importation, it was understood, that orders were fent to Holland, and other places, to buy up wine, brandy, and other merchandize. And another notorious fraud was designed by some in England; who, because of the great draw-back, that was allowed for tobacco and other plantation commodities, when exported, were fending great quantities to Scotland, on defign to bring them back t

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after the first of May, that so they might sell them 1707. free of that duty: So a bill was offered to the House of Commons, for preventing this. While this was going on, Harley proposed the joining another clause, to this effect; That all goods, that were carried to Scotland, after the first of February (unless it were by the natural-born subjects of that kingdom, inhabiting in it) in case they were imported into England after the first of May, should be liable to the English duties; and of this the proof was to lie on the importer. This angred all the Scotch, who raised a high clamour upon it, and faid the union was broke by it; and that fuch a proceeding would have very ill effects in Scotland. But the House of Commons were so alarmed, with the news of a vast importation, which was aggravated far beyond the truth, and by which they concluded the trade of England would greatly fuffer, at least for a year or two, that they passed the bill, and fent it to the Lords, where it was rejected; for it appeared plainly to them, that this was an infraction of some of the articles of the treaty. It was fuggested, that a recess for some days was necellary, that fo the Commons might have an opportunity to prepare a bill, prohibiting all goods from being brought to England, that had been fent out, only in order that the merchants might have the draw-back allowed. With this view, the Parliament was prorogued for a few days; but at their next meeting, the Commons were more inflamed than before: So they prepared a new bill, to the same effect, only in some clauses it was more severe than the former had been: But the Lords did not agree to it, and so it fell.

Thus far I have carried on the recital of this great transaction, rather in such a general view, as may transmit it right to posterity, than in so copious a narration, as an affair of such consequence might feem to deserve: It is very probable, that a particular journal, of the debates in the Parliament of

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Scotland,

Reflections on the Union.

Scotland, which were long and fierce, may at some time or other be made publick: But I hope this may fuffice for a history. I cannot, upon such a fignal occasion, restrain myself from making some reflections, on the directions of Providence in this matter. It is certain the defign on Darien, the great charge it put the nation to, and the total mifcarriage of that project, made the trading part of that kingdom fee the impossibility of undertaking any great design in trade; and that made them the more readily concur, in carrying on the union. The wifer men of that nation had observed long, that Scotland lay at the mercy of the Ministry, and that every new fet of Ministers made use of their power, to enrich themselves and their creatures, at the cost of the publick; that the Judges, being made by them, were in fuch a dependence, that fince there are no juries allowed in Scotland in civil matters, the whole property of the kingdom was in their hands, and by their means in the hands of the Ministers: They had also observed, how ineffectual it had been to complain of them at court: It put those, who ventured on it, to a vast charge, to no other purpose, but to expose them the more to the fury of the Ministry. The poor noblemen, and the poor boroughs made a great majority in their Parliament, and were eafily to be purchased by the court: fo they faw no hopes of a remedy to fuch a mischief, but by an incorporating union with England. These thoughts were much quickned, by the prospect of recovering, what they had loft in that ill concerted undertaking of Darien; and this was so universal and so operative, that the design on Darien, which the Jacobites had let on foot and profecuted with 10 much fury, and with bad intentions, did now engage many to promote the union, who, without that confideration, would have been at least neutral, if not backward in it. The court was engaged to promote the union, on account of the act of fecurity, palt in the year 1704, which was imputed chiefly to the Lord

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Lord Treasurer: Threatnings, of impeaching him for advising it, had been often let fall, and upon that, his enemies had fet their chief hopes of pulling him down: for though no proof could be brought of his counsel in it, yet it was not doubted, but that his advice had determined the Queen to pass it. An impeachment was a word of an odious found, which would engage a party against him, and disorder a fession of Parliament; and the least ill effect it might have, would be to oblige him to withdraw from business, which was chiefly aimed at. The Queen was very fensible, that his managing the great trust he was in, in the manner he did, made all the rest of her government both fafe and eafy to her; fo she fpared no pains to bring this about, and it was believed she was at no small cost to compass it, for those of Scotland had learned from England, to set a price on their votes, and they expected to be well paid for them: The Lord Treasurer did also bestir himself in this matter, with an activity and zeal, that seemed not to be in his nature: and indeed, all the application, with which the court fet on this affair, was necessary to master the opposition and difficulties, that sprang up in the progress of it. That which compleated all was, the low flate to which the affairs of France were reduced: They could neither spare men, nor money, to support their party, which otherwise they would undoubtedly have done: They had, in imitation of the Exchequer-Bills here in England, given out Mint-Bills to a great value; some faid two hundred millions of livres: These were ordered to be taken, by the subjects in all payments, as money to the full value, but were not to be received in payments of the King's taxes: This put them under a great discredit, and the fund created, for repaying them, not being thought a good one, they had funk 70 per Cent. This created an inexpressible disorder in all payments, and in the whole commerce of France: All the methods, that were proposed for raising their credit, had proved inef-N 3 tectual sion, was so remarkable, that I hope my laying it

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of 58 per Cent. A court, in this diffress, was not in a condition to spare much, to support such an inconsiderable interest, as they esteemed their party in Scotland: so they had not the assistance, which they promised themselves from thence. The conjuncture, of all these things meeting together, which brought this great work to a happy conclu-

all in one view, will be thought no impertinent digreffion.

iectual a

This was the chief business of the session of Parliament: and it was brought about, here in England, both sooner, and with less difficulty, than The sup- was expected. The grant of the supplies went plies were on quicker than was usual. There was only one granted. particular, to which great objections were made:

particular, to which great objections were made: Upon the great and early success of the former campaign, it was thought necessary to follow that, with other projects, that drew on a great expence, beyond what had been estimated, and laid before the Parliament. An imbarkation, first deligned against France, and afterwards sent to Portugal; and the extraordinary supplies, that the Duke of Savoy's affairs called for, amounted to about 800,0001. more, than had been provided for by Parliament. Some complained of this, and faid, that if a Ministry could thus run the nation into a great charge, and expect that the Parliament must pay the reckoning, this might have very ill confequences. But to this it was answered, that a Ministry deserved publick thanks, that had followed our advantages with fuch vigour: If any thing was railed without necessity, or ill applied, under the pretence of ferving the publick, it was very reafonable to enquire into it, and to let it fall heavy on those, who were in fault: But if no other exception lay to it, than because the matter could not be forefeen, nor communicated to the Parliament, before those accidents happened, that occasioned the exV

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pence, it was a very unjust discouragement, if Minifters were to be quarrelled with, for their care and zeal: So it was carried by a great majority, to difcharge this debt. All the other supplies, and among them the equivalent for Scotland, were given, and lodged on good funds: So that no feffion of Parliament had ever raifed fo much, and fecured it so well, as this had done. The fession came to a happy conclusion, and the Parliament to an end. But the Queen, by virtue of a clause in the act of union, revived it by proclamation. Upon this, many of the Scotch Lords came up, and were very well received; two of them, Montrose and Roxburgh, were made Dukes in Scotland; fome of them were made privy Counfellors in England; and a commission, for a new Council, was fent to Scotland: There appeared foon two different parties among the Scotch; some of them moved, that there should neither be a distinct government, nor a Privy Council continued there, but that all should be brought under one administration, as the several counties in England were; they said, the looner all were confolidated, in all respects, into one body, the possibility of separating and disuniting them, would be the looner extinguished; this was pressed with the most earnestness by those, who were weary of the present Ministry, and longed to fee their power at an end: But the Ministry, who had a mind to keep up their authority, faid, there was a necessity of preferving a shew of greatness, and a form of government in those parts, both for subduing the Jacobites, and that the nation might not be difgusted, by too sudden an alteration of outward appearances. The court resolved to maintain the Ministry there, till the next session of Parliament, in which new measures might be taken. Thus our affairs were happily fettled at home, and the first of May was celebrated, with a decent totemnity, for then the union took place.

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Proceedings in Convocation.

The Convocation fat this winter; and the fame temper, that had for some years possessed the lower house, did still prevail among them: When the debates concerning the union were before the Parliament, fome in the Lower House spoke very tragically on that subject: a committee was named to confider of the present danger of the church, though but a little while before, they had concurred with the bishops, in a very respectful address to the Queen, in which it was acknowledged, that the church was, under her Majesty's administration, in a safe and flourishing condition: This was carried, by the private management of some aspiring men amongst them, who hoped by a piece of skill to shew what they could do, that it might recommend them to farther preferment; they were much cried out on as betrayers of their party, for carrying that address; fo to recover their credit, and because their hopes from the court were not so promising, they resolved now to act another part. It was given out, that they intended to make an application to the Houle of Commons, against the union; to prevent that, the Queen wrote to the Archbishop, ordering him to prorogue them for three weeks: by this means that defign was defeated, for before the end of the three weeks, the union had passed both Houses. But, when one factious defign failed, they found out another; they ordered a representation to be made to the Bishops, which set forth, that ever since the submission of the clergy in Henry the VIII's time, which was for a course of 173 years, no such prorogation had ever been ordered, during the fitting of Parliament: and they befought the Bishops, that from the conscientious regard, which they doubted not they had, for the welfare of this church, they would use their utmost endeavours, that they might still enjoy those usages, of which they were possessed, and which they had never misemployed: With this, they brought up a schedule, containing, as they faid, all the dates of the prorogations, both of Par1

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liament and Convocation, thereby to make good their affertion: And to cover this feeming complaint of the Queen's proceedings, they passed a vote, that they did not intend to enter into any debate, concerning the validity of the late prorogation, to which they had humbly submitted. It was found to be a strange and a bold affertion, that this prorogation was without a precedent: Their charge, in the preserving their usages, on the consciences of the Bishops, infinuated that this was a breach made on them: The Bishops saw this was plainly an attempt on the Queen's supremacy; so they ordered it to be laid before her Majesty: and they ordered also a fearch to be made into the records. For though it was an undoubted maxim, that nothing but a positive law could limit the prerogative, which a nonulage could not do; yet they ordered the schedule, offered by the Lower House, to be compared with the records: they found that feven or eight prorogations had been ordered, during the fitting of Parliament, and there were about thirty or forty more, by which it appeared, that the Convocation fat fometimes before, and fometimes after a fession of Parliament, and fat fometimes, even when the Parliament was diffolved. Upon all this, the Queen wrote another more severe letter to the Archbishop, complaining of the clergy, for not only continuing their illegal practices, but reflecting on her late order, as without a precedent, and contrary to antient usages; which as it was untrue in fact, so it was an invasion of her supremacy: She had shewed much tenderness to the clergy, but if any thing of this nature should be attempted for the future, she would use means warranted by law, for punishing offenders, how unwilling foever she might be to proceed to such mealures. When the day came, on which this was to be communicated to the Lower House, the Prolocutor had gone out of town, without fo much as alking the Archbishop's leave, so a very small number of the clergy appeared: Upon this fignal contempt, 1707.

tempt, the Archbishop pronounced him contumacious, and referred the further censuring him to the day, he fet for their next meeting: The Prolocutor's party preffed him to stand it out, and to make no fubmission; but he had founder advice given him, by some who understood the law better; so he made a full submission, with which the Archbishop was fatisfied: Yet a party continued, with great im. pudence to affert, that their schedule was true, and that the Queen was misinformed, though the Lord Chancellor, made now a Peer of England, and the Lord Chief Justice Holt, had, upon perusal of the records, affirmed to the Queen, that their affertion was false, and that there were many precedents, for fuch prerogations.

Affairs in Italy.

And now I must look abroad into foreign affairs. The French were losing place after place in Lombardy: Cremona, Mantua, and the citadel of Milan were the only places, that were left in their hands: It was not possible to maintain these long, without a greater force, nor was it easy to convey that to them, On the other hand, the reducing those fortresses was like to be a work of time, which would fatigue the troops, and would bring a great charge with it; for a capitulation was proposed, for delivering up those places, and for allowing the French troops a free march to Dauphiny. As foon as this was fent to Vienna, it was agreed to, without communicating it to the allies, which gave just cause of offence: It was laid in excuse, that every General had a power to agree to a capitulation; fo the Emperor, in this case, was not bound to stay, for the consent of the allies. This was true, if the capitulation had been for one fingle place, but this was of the nature of a treaty, being of a greater extent: By this, the French faved ten or 12000 men, who must all have been, in a little time, made prisoners of war: They were veteran troops, and were fent into Spain, of which we quickly felt the ill effects.

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mgn paign after this manner: The Duke of Savoy un- 1707. dertook to march an army into France, and to act there, as should be concerted by the Allies: Some proposed the marching through Dauphiny, to the river of the Rhone, and so up to Lyons: But an attempt upon Toulon was thought the most important thing, that could be defigned; so that was fettled on. Mareschal Tesse was sent to secure the passes, and to cover France on that side. This winter the Prince of Baden died, little efteemed, and little lamented; the Marquis of Bareith had the command of the army, on the Upper Rhine, from whom lefs was expected; he was fo ill fup-The court of ported, that he could do nothing. Vienna was to let on the reduction of Hungary, that they thought of nothing else: The Hungarians were very numerous, but they wanted both officers and discipline: Ragotzi had possessed himfelf of almost all Transilvania, and the Hungarians were to alienated from the Emperor, that they were confulting about chuling a new King.

The eyes of all Europe were upon the King of And in Sweden, who having possessed himself of Saxony, Poland. made King Augustus soon feel, that now, that his hereditary dominions were in his enemy's hands, he could no longer maintain the war in Poland: So a treaty was let on foot, with such secrecy, that it was concluded, before it was apprehended to be in agitation. King Augustus was only waiting for a ht opportunity, to disengage himself from his Polanders, and from the Muscovites; an incident happened that had almost imbroiled all again: The Polanders and Muscovites attacked a body of Swedes, at a great disadvantage, being much superior to them in number: So the Swedes were almost cut to pieces. King Augustus had no share in this, and did all that he durst venture on, to avoid it: He paid dear for it, hard conditions were put on him, to which the necessity of his affairs forced him to submit. He made all the haste, he safely could,

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to get out of Poland : He refigned back their Crown to them, and was contented with the empty name of King, though that seemed rather to be a reproach, than any accession of honour to his electoral dignity; he thought otherwise, and stipulated that it should be continued to him: He was at mercy, for he had neither forces nor treasure. It was thought the King of Sweden treated him with too much rigour, when he had fo entirely maftered him: The other was as little pitied, as he deserved to be, for by many wrong practices, he had drawn all his misfortunes on himself. The King of Sweden, being in the heart of Germany, in fo formidable a posture, gave great apprehensions to the Allies. The French made strong applications to him, but the courts of Prussia and Hanover were in such a concert with that King, that they gave the reft of the Allies great affurances, that he would do nothing, to disturb the peace of the empire, nor to weaken the alliance: The court of France preffed him to offer his mediation for a general peace; all the answer he gave was, that if the Allies made the like application to him, he would interpose, and do all good offices in a treaty. So he refused to enter into any separate measures with France, yet the court of Vienna was under a great apprehenfion, of his feeking matter for a quarrel with them. The Czar at this time over-run Poland, fo that King Stanislaus was forced to fly into Saxony, to the King of Sweden, for protection: Both he and his Queen staid there all the winter, and a great part of this fummer. The Czar pressed the Polanders to proceed to the election of another King, but could not carry them to that; so it was generally believed, that they were resolved to come to a treaty with King Stanislaus, and to settle the quiet of that kingdom, exhausted by a long and destructive war. The Czar tried, if it were possible, to come to a peace with the King of Sweden, and made great offers in order to it; but that King was implacawn

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ble, and feemed resolved to pull him down, as he 1707. had done King Augustus. That King's designs were impenetrable, he advised with few, and kept The character of himself on great reserves with all foreign Mini- the King sters, whom he would not suffer to come near him, of Sweden except when they had a particular message to deliver. Our Court was advised, by the Elector of Hanover, to fend the Duke of Marlborough to him: It was thought this would please him much, if it had no other effect; so he went thither, but could gain no ground on him. He affected a neglect of his person, both in cloaths, lodging, and diet; all was simple, even to meanness, nay, he did not fo much as allow a decent cleanlines: He appeared to have a real fense of religion, and a zeal for it, but it was not much enlightned: He feemed to have no notion of publick-liberty, but thought Princes ought to keep their promifes religiously, and to observe their treaties punctually: He rendered himself very acceptable to his army, by coming so near their way of living, and by his readinels to expole his own person, and to reward services done him: He had little tenderness in his nature, and was a fierce enemy, too rough, and too favage: He looked on Foreign Ministers, as spies by their character, and treated them accordingly; and he used his own Ministers, rather as instruments to execute his orders, than as counsellors.

The court of France finding they could not pre- Propositivail on him, made a publick application to the ons for a Pope, for his mediating a peace: They offered the peace. dominions in Italy to King Charles, to the States a barrier in the Netherlands, and a compensation to the Duke of Savoy, for the waste made in his country; provided, that on those conditions, King Philip should keep Spain, and the West-Indies. It was thought, the court of Vienna wished this project might be entertained, but the other Allies were to disgusted at it, that they made no steps toward it: The court of Vienna did what they could,

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to confound the deligns of this campaign; for they ordered a detachment of 12000 men to march. from the army in Lombardy to the kingdom of Naples. The court of England, the States, and the Duke of Savoy, studied to divert this, with the warmest instances possible, but in vain: Though it was represented to that court, that if the Duke of Savoy could enter into Provence, with a great army, that would cut off all fupplies, and communication with France: So that fuccess, in this great defign, would make Naples and Sicily fall into their hands of course; but the Imperial Court was inflexible: They pretended, they had given their party in Naples such affurances of an invasion, that if they failed in it, they exposed them all to be de-Aroyed, and thereby they might provoke the whole country, to become their most inveterate enemies, Thus they took up a refolution, without confulting their Allies, and then pretended that it was fixed, and could not be altered.

The battle of Almanza.

The campaign was opened very fatally in Spain: King Charles pretended, there was an army coming into Catalonia from Rouffillon; and that it was necessary for him, to march into that country: The dividing a force, when the whole together was not equal to the enemy's, has often proved fatal: He ought to have made his army as strong as possibly he could, and to have marched with it to Madrid; for the rest of Spain would have fallen into his hands, upon the fuccess of that expedition. But he perfifted in his first resolution, and marched away with a part of the army, leaving about 16000 men under the Earl of Gallway's command. They had eaten up all their stores in Valencia, and could fubfift no longer there; fo they were forced to break into Castile: The Duke of Berwick came against them with an army, not much superior to theirs: But the court of France had fent the Duke of Orleans into Spain, with some of the best troops, that they had brought from Italy; and these joined

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the Duke of Berwick, a day before the two armies engaged. Some deferters came over, and brought the Earl of Gallway the news of the conjunction; but they were not believed, and were looked on as fpies, fent to frighten them. A council of war had refolved to venture on a battle, which the state of their affairs feemed to make necessary: They could not fublift where they were, nor be fublifted if they retired back into Valencia; so on the 14th of April, the two armies engaged in the plain of Almanza. The English and Dutch beat the enemy, and broke through twice; but the Portugueze gave way: upon that the enemy, who were almost double in number, both horse and foot, flanked them, and a total rout followed, in which about 10,000 were killed or taken prisoners. The Earl of Gallway was twice wounded; once so near the eye, that for some time it put him out of a capacity of giving orders: But at last he, with some other officers, made the best retreat they could. Our fleet came happily on that coast, on the day that the battle was fought; so he was supplied from thence, and he put garrisons into Denia and Alicant, and retired to the Ebro, with about 3000 horse and almost as many foot. The Duke of Orleans purfued the victory; Valencia submitted, and so did Saragoza; fo that the principality of Catalonia was all, that remained in King Charles's obedience. The King of Portugal died this winter, but that made no great change in affairs there: The young King agreed to every thing that was proposed to him by the Allies; yet the Portugueze were under a great consternation, their best troops being either cut off, or at that time in Catalonia.

Marshal Villars was sent to command in Alface: He understood that the lines of Stolhoven were ill kept, and weakly manned; so he passed the Rhine, and without any loss and very little opposition he broke through, and seized on the artillery, and on such magazines as were lain in there. Upon

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this shameful disgrace, the Germans retired to Hailbron: The circle of Suabia was now open, and put under contribution; and Villars designed to penetrate as far as to Bavaria. The blame of this miscarriage was laid chiefly on the imperial court, who neither sent their quota thither, nor took care to settle a proper general for the desence of the empire. In Flanders the French army, commanded by the Duke of Vendome, came and took post at Gemblours, in a safe camp; the Duke of Marlborough lay at Meldert in a more open one: Both armies were about 100,000 strong; but the

French were rather superior to that number. In the month of June, the defign upon Toulon began to appear: The Queen and the States fent a ftrong Fleet thither, commanded by Sir Cloudelly Shovel; who, from mean beginnings, had rifen up to the supreme command; and had given many proofs of great courage, conduct and zeal, in the whole course of his life. Prince Eugene had the command of the imperial army, that was to fecond the Duke of Savoy in this undertaking, upon the fuccess of which the final conclusion of the The army was not fo ftrong, as war depended. it was intended it should have been: The detachment of 12,000 Men was ordered to march to Naples; and no applications could prevail at the Court of Vienna, to obtain a delay in that expedition: There were also eight or ten thousand recruits, that were promised to be sent to reinforce Prince Eugene, which were stopt in Germany, for the emperor was under fuch apprehensions of a rupture with Sweden, that he pretended it was absolutely necessary, for his own safety, to keep a good force at home. Prince Eugene had also orders, not to expose his troops too much; by this means they were the less serviceable: notwithstanding these dilappointments, the Duke of Savoy, after he had for some weeks covered his true design, by a feint upon Dauphiny, by which he drew most of the French

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French troops to that fide; as foon as he heard 1707. that the confederate fleet was come upon the coast, he made a very quick march through ways, that were thought impracticable, on to the river Var, where the French had cast up such works, that it was reckoned these must have stopt his passing the river: and they would have done it effectually, if some ships had not been sent in from the fleet, into the mouth of the river, to attack these where there was no defence; because no attack from that side was apprehended. By this means they were forced to abandon their works, and fo the paffage over the river was free: Upon this, that Duke entred Provence, and made all the haste he could towards Toulon. The artillery and ammunition were on board the fleet, and were to be landed near the place, so the march of the army was as little encumbred as was possible; yet it was impossible to advance with much hafte in an enemy's country, where the provisions were either destroyed or carried into fortified places, which though they might have easily been taken, yet no time was to be loft in executing the great delign; fo this retarded the march for some days: Yet in conclusion they came before the place, and were quickly masters of some of the eminencies, that commanded it. At their first coming, they might have possessed themselves of another called St. Anne's hill, if Prince Eugene had executed the Duke of Savoy's orders: He did it not, which raised a high discontent; but he exculed himself, by shewing the orders he had received, not to expose the emperor's troops. Some days were loft by the roughness of the sea, which hindred the ships from landing the artillery and ammunition. In the mean while, the troops of France were ordered to march from all parts to Toulon: The garrison within was very strong; the forces that were on their march to Spain, to prolecute the victory of Almanza, were countermanded; and so great a part of Villars's army was called VOL. IV.

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away, that he could not make any further progress in Germany. So that a great force was, from all hands, marching to raise this siege; and it was declared, in the Court of France, that the Duke of Burgundy would go and lead on the army. The Duke of Savoy loft no time, but continued cannonading the place, while the fleet came up to bombard it: They attack'd the two forts, that commanded the entrance into the mole with fuch fury, that they made themselves masters of them; but one of them was afterwards blown up, Those within the town were not idle: They funk fome ships, in the entrance into the mole, and fired furiously at the fleet, but did them little harm: They beat the Duke of Savoy out of one of his most important posts, which was long defended by a gallant Prince of Saxe-Gotha; who not being supported in time, was cut to pieces. This post was afterwards regained, and the fleet continued for some days to bombard the place. But in the end, the Duke of Savoy, whose strength had never been above 30,000 men, feeing fo great a force marching towards him, who might intercept his passage, and so destroy his whole army; and there being no hope of his carrying the place, found it necessary to march home in time: Which he did with fo much order and precaution, that he got back into his own country, without any loss; and foon after his return, he fat down before Suza, It failed in and took it in a few weeks. Our fleet did all the the execu- execution they could on the town: Their bombs let some places on fire, which they believed were magazines; for they continued burning for many hours; in conclusion, they sailed off: They left

tion.

behind them a fleet of fix and twenty ships in the Mediterranean, and the great ships failed homewards. Thus this great design, on which the eyes of all Europe were fet, failed in the execution, chiefly by the emperor's means: England and the States performed all that was expected of them,

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nor was the Duke of Savoy wanting on his part; 1707. though many suspected him, as backward, and at least cold in the undertaking. It was not yet perfectly understood what damage the French fustained: Many of their ships were rendered unserviceable, and continue to be fo still: Nor did they fet out any fleet all the following winter; though the affairs of King Charles in Spain were then fo low, that if they could have cut off the communication by fea, between Italy and Spain, they must foon have been mafters of all, that was left in his hands: So that from their fitting out no fleet at Toulon, it was concluded, that they could not do it. When the defign upon Toulon was broke, more troops were fent into Spain: The Earl of Gallway did, with incredible diligence and activity, endeavour to repair the lofs at Almanza, as much as was possible: The supplies and stores that he had from our fleet, put him in a capacity to make a stand; he formed a new army, and put the strong places in the best posture he could; Lerida was the most exposed, and so was the best looked to; Tortosa, Tarragona, and Gironne, were also well fortified, and good garrisons were put in them. The attempt on Toulon, as it put a ftop to all the motions of the French, fo it gave him time to put the principality of Catalonia in a good state of defence. The Duke of Orleans, being reinforced with troops from France, fet down before Lerida, in the end The fiege of September, with an army of 30,000 men; The of Lerida. place was commanded by a Prince of Heffe, who held out above forty days: After some time he was forced to abandon the town, and to retire into the caltle; the army suffered much in this long siege. When the befieged faw how long they could hold out, they gave the Earl of Gallway notice, upon which he intended to have raised the siege; and if the King of Spain would have confented to his drawing, out of the other garrisons, such a force as might have been spared, he undertook to raise it,

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which was belived might have been eafily done: And if he had fucceeded, it would have given a new turn to all the affairs of Spain. But Count Novelles, who was well practifed in the arts of flattery, and knew how much King Charles was alienated from the Earl of Gallway, for the honest freedom he had used with him, in laying before him fome errors in his conduct, fet himself to oppose this, apprehending that fuccess in it, would have raised the Earl of Gallway's reputation again, which had fuffered a great diminution by the action of Almanza: He faid, this would expose the little army they had left them. to too great a hazard; for if the design miscarried, it might occasion a revolt of the whole principality, Thus the humours of Princes are often more regarded than their interest; the design of relieving Lerida was laid afide. The French army was diminished a fourth part, and the long siege had so fatigued them, that it was visible, the raising it would have been no difficult performance, but the thoughts of that being given over, Lerida capitulated in the beginning of November: The Spaniards made some feeble attempts, on the side of Portugal, with fuccess, for little resistance was made; the Portugueze excusing themselves by their feebleness, since their best troops were in Catalonia.

Relief fent to Spain. King Charles, finding his affairs in fo ill a condition, wrote to the Emperor, and to the other Allies, to fend him supplies, with all possible haste: Stanhope was sent over, to press the Queen and the States to dispatch these the sooner. At the end of the campaign in Italy, 7000 of the Imperial troops were prepared to be sent over to Barcelona: And these were carried in the winter, by the confederate sleet, without any disturbance given them, by the French. Recruits and supplies of all forts were sent over from England, and from the States to Portugal. But while the House of Austria was struggling with great difficulties, two pieces of pomp and magnificence consumed a great part of their

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their treasure: An Embassy was sent from Lisbon, 1707. to demand the Emperor's fifter for that King, which was done with an unufual and extravagant expence: A wife was to be fought for King Charles, among the Protestant courts, for there was not a fuitable match in the Popish courts: He had seen the Princess of Anspach, and was much taken with her; so that great applications were made, to perfuade her to change her religion, but she could not be prevailed on, to buy a Crown at fo dear a rate: And foon after, the was married to the Prince Electoral of Brunswick, which gave a glorious character of her to this nation; and her pious firmness is like to be rewarded, even in this life, with a much better Crown, than that which she rejected. Princess of Wolfenbuttle was not so firm; so the was brought to Vienna, and some time after was married by proxy to King Charles, and was fent to Italy, in her way to Spain. The folemnity, with which these matters were managed, in all this distress of their affairs, confumed a vast deal of treafure; for fuch was the pride of those courts on fuch occasions, that, rather than fail in a point of splendor, they would let their most important affairs go to wreck. That Princess was landed at Barcelona: And the Queen of Portugal the same year came to Holland, to be carried to Lisbon, by a squadron of the English fleet

But while matters were in a doubtful ftate in The conSpain, the expedition to Naples had all the fuccefs, queft of
that was expected: The detachment from LomNaples,
bardy marched through the ecclefiaftical ftate, and
ftruck no fmall terror into the court of Rome, as
they passed near it: It was apprehended, some resistance would have been made in Naples, by those
who governed there under King Philip: But the
in-bred hatred the Neapolitans bore the French, together with the severities of their government, had
put that whole kingdom into such a disposition to
tevolt, that the small party, which adhered to King

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Philip, found it not adviseable to offer any relistance, fo they had only time enough to convey their treasure, and all their richest goods to Caveta. and to retire thither: They reckoned, they would either be relieved from France by fea, or obtain a good capitulation: or if that failed, they had fome ships and galleys, in which they might hope to escape. The Imperialists took possession of Naples, where they were received with great rejoicings; their ill conduct quickly moderated that joy, and very much disposed the Neapolitans to a fecond revolt: But upon applications, made to the courts of Vienna and Barcelona, the excesses of the Imperialists, who carried their ravenous disposition with them wherefoever they went, were fomewhat corrected, so that they became more tolerable. As foon as a government could be fettled at Naples, they undertook the fiege of Cayeta, which went on at first very slowly: So that those within seemed to apprehend nothing fo much, as the want of provisions, upon which, they fent the few ships they had to Sicily, to bring them supplies, for all they might want; when these were sent away, the Imperialiffs, knowing what a rich booty was lodged in the place, pressed it very hard, and, in conclufion, took it by storm; and fo were masters of all the wealth, that was in it: The garrison retired into the castle, but they were soon after forced to furrender, and were all made prisoners of war. It was proposed to follow this success, with an attempt upon Sicily: But it was not easy to supply Naples with bread; nor was our fleet at liberty to affift them; for they were ordered to lie on the coast of Spain, and to wait there for orders; when these arrived, they required them to carry the Marquis das Minas and the Earl of Gallway, with the forces of Portugal, to Lisbon; which was happily performed: And the Earl of Gallway found the character and powers of an Ambassador, lying for him there. The thoughts, of attempting Sicily, were were therefore laid afide for this time; though the \$707. Sicilians were known to be in a very good disposition to entertain it. A small force was sent, from Naples, to feize on those places, which lay on the coast of Tuscany, and belonged to the Crown of Spain: Some of them were foon taken, but Porto Longone and Port Hercole made a better refiftance: This was the state of affairs in Italy and Spain all this year, and till the opening of the cam-

paign the next year.

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Villars continued in Germany, laying Suabia un- Affairs on der heavy contributions; and very probably he the Rhine. would have penetrated into Bavaria, if the detachments, he was ordered to fend away, had not fo weakned his army, that he durst not venture further, nor undertake any confiderable fiege. While the empire was thus exposed, all mens eyes turned towards the Elector of Brunswick, as the only perfon, that could recover their affairs out of those extremities, into which they were brought: The Emperor pressed him to accept of the supreme command; this was feconded by all the Allies, but most earnestly by the Queen and the States: The Elector used all the precaution, that the imbarking in fuch a defign required, and he had fuch affurances of affiftance, from the Princes and Circles, as he thought might be depended upon; so he undertook the command: His first care was to restore military discipline, which had been very little conidered or submitted to, for some years past; and he established this, with such impartial severity, that the face of affairs there was foon changed: But the army was too weak, and the feafon was too far ipent, to enter on great defigns. One confiderable action happened, which very much railed the reputation of his conduct: Villars had fent a detachment of 3000 horse and dragoons, either to extend his contribution, or to feize on some important post; against these, the Elector sent out another body, that fell upon the French, and gave 0 4

1707. them, a total defeat; in which 2000 of them were cut off: Soon after that, Villars retired back to Strafbourg, and the campaign in those parts ended.

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The King of Pruffia judged Prince of Neufcha-

I will take in here a transaction, that lay not far from the scene of action. There was, all this summer, a dispute at Neuschastel, upon the death of the old Dutchess of Nemours, in whom the House of Longueville ended: She enjoyed this principality, which, fince it lay as a frontier to Switzerland, was on this occasion much considered. There were many pretenders of the French nation, the chief was the Prince of Conti; all these came to Neufchastel, and made their application to the States of that country, and laid their feveral titles before them: The King of France seemed to favour the Prince of Conti most: But yet he left it free to the States, to judge of their pretentions, provided they gave judgment, in favour of one of his fubjects; adding fevere threatnings, in case they should judge in behalf of any other Pretender. The King of Prussia, as heir by his mother to the House of Chaalons, claimed it as his right, which the late King had, by a particular agreement made over to him; so he sent a minister thither, to put in his claim: And the Queen, and the States, ordered their ministers in Switzerland, to do their best offices, both for advancing his pretensions, and to engage the Cantons to maintain them; the King of Sweden wrote also to the Cantons to the same effect. The Allies looked on this, as a matter of great confequence; fince it might end in a rupture between the Protestant Cantons and France; for the Popish Cantons were now wholly theirs. After much pleading, and a long dispute, the States of the principality gave judgment, in favour of the King of Prussia; the French Pretenders protested against this, and left Neufchastel in a high discontent: The French Ambassador threatned that little state with an invalion, and all commerce with them was forbid: The Canton of Bern espoused their concern, with a fpia spirit and zeal, that was not expected from them: They declared, they were in a comburghership with them; and upon that, they fent a body of 3000 men, to defend them. The French continued to threaten, and Villars had orders to march a great part of his army towards them; but when the court of France faw, that the Cantons of Bern and Zurick were not frightened with those marches, they let the whole matter fall, very little to their honour: And so the intercourse, between the French dominions and that state, was again opened, and the peace of the Cantons was fecured. The King of Prussia engaged his honour, that he would govern that state, with a particular zeal, for advancing both religion and learning in it; and upon these asfurances, he perfuaded the Bishops of England, and myself in particular, to use our best endeavours to promote his pretensions; upon which we wrote, in the most effectual manner we could, to Mons. Oftervald, who was the most eminent Ecclesiastick of that state, and one of the best and most judicious Divines of the age: He was bringing that church to a near agreement with our forms of worship: The King of Prussia was well set, in all matters relating to religion; and had made a great step, in order to reconcile the Lutherans and the Calvinists in his dominions, by requiring them, not to preach to the people on those points, in which they differ; and by obliging them, to communicate together, notwithstanding the diversity of their opinions: Which is indeed the only wife and honest way, to make up that breach.

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The affinity of the matter, leads me next to give The King an account of the differences, between the King of of Sweden Sweden, and the court of Vienna: That King, afgets the Protestant ter he had been a very heavy guest in Saxony, came churches to understand, that the Protestants in Silesia had their in Silesia churches, and the free exercise of their religion, to be restipulated to them by the peace of Munster, and stored to that the Crown of Sweden was the guarantee, for them.

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1707. observing this: These churches were taken from them; fo the King of Sweden was in justice bound, to fee to the observing of that article; he very rea. dily embraced this opportunity, which had been long neglected, or forgotten by his father. When this was first represented to the court of Vienna, it was treated there with much fcorn: And Count Zabor, one of the Ministers of that court, spoke of the King of Sweden in a style, that he thought furnished him with a just pretension to demand, that he should be fent to him, to be punished as he thought fit: this was foon yielded; the Count was fent to the King, and made fuch an humble fubmission to him, as was accepted: But the demand for restoring the churches was a matter of hard digestion, to a bigotted and haughty court. The King of Sweden had a great army at hand, and he threatned an immediate rupture, if this demand was not agreed to, without delay: In this he was so positive, that the imperial court at last yielded, they being then in no condition, to relift a warlike Prince, and an army, hardened by an exact discipline, and the fatigues of a long war: fo that every thing that was demanded, pursuant to that article of the treaty of Munster, was agreed to be performed, within a prefixed time: And upon that, the King of Sweden marched his army, under the most regular discipline, through Silefia, as had been agreed, into Poland. The Jesuits made great opposition to the performance of what had been stipulated; but the imperial court would not provoke a Prince, who they thought was feeking a colour, to break with them: So, by the day prefixed, all the churches were restored to the Protestants in Silesia. Upon this, he was highly magnified, and great endeavours were again used, to engage him in the alliance; but he was fo fet against the Czar, whom he defigned to dethrone, that nothing could then divert him from it: Yet he to far entred into the interests of religion, that, as he wrote to the King of France, defiring him not to oppole

1707.

oppose the King of Prussia, in his pretensions on Neufchastel; he also wrote to the Cantons, desiring them to promote and support them. The Cantons feeing those characters of zeal in him, fent a French gentleman of quality to him, the Marquis de Rochegude, to let him know what regard they had to his recommendations, and to defire him to interpose his good offices, with the King of France, for fetting at liberty about three hundred persons, who were condemned to the galleys, and treated most cruelly in them, upon no other pretence, but because they would not change their religion, and had endeavoured to make their escape out of France: He received this message with a particular civility, and immediately complied with it; ordering his Minister, at the court of France, to make it his defire to that King, that these confessors might be delivered to him: But the Ministers of France faid, that was a point of the King's government at home, in which he could not fuffer foreign Princes to meddle: He feemed sensible of this neglect, and it was hoped, that when his affairs could admit of it, he would express a due resentment of it.

To end all the affairs of Germany, for this year, A sedition at once; I must mention a quarrel, raised in Ham- in Hamborough, between some private persons, one of borough. whom was a Lutheran Minister; which created a great division in that city. One side was protected by the Senate, which gave so great a disgust to the other fide, that it was like to end in a revolt against the Magistrates, and a civil war within the town: And it being known, that the King of Denmark had, for many years, had an eye on that place, the neighbouring Princes apprehended, that he might take advantage from those commotions, or that the weaker fide might chuse rather to fall under his power, than under the revenges of the adverse party. The Kings of Sweden and Pruffia, with the House of Brunswick, resolved therefore to send troops thither, to quiet this distraction, and to chastize the

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more refractory; while the Emperor's Ministers, together with the Queen's, endeavoured to accommodate matters, without fuffering them to run to extremities.

The campaign in Flanders.

It remains, that I give an account of the campaign in Flanders: The French kept close within their posts; though the Duke of Marlborough often drew out his troops, to fee if that could provoke them; but they were resolved not to fight on equal terms; and it was not thought advisable to attempt the forcing their posts: they lay, for some months, looking on one another; but both armies had behind them fuch a fafe and plentiful conveyance of provisions, that no want of any fort could oblige either fide to dislodge. The Duke of Vendome had orders, to fend detachments, to reinforce Mareschal Villars, in lieu of those detachments, that he had been ordered to fend to Provence. The Duke of Savoy feemed to wonder, that the confederates lay To quiet, and gave the Duke of Vendome no difturbance; and that they could not, at least, oblige him to keep all his army together: At last the Duke of Marlborough decamped, and moved towards French Flanders: The French decamped, about the same time, but lodged themselves again in fuch a fafe camp, that he could not force them into any action: Nor was his army fo numerous, as to spare a body to undertake a siege, by that means to draw them to a battle; fo that the campaign was carried on there, in a very inoffensive manner, on both fides: And thus matters stood in the Continent, every where this feafon.

Affairs at France set out no fleet this year, and yet, we never had greater losses on that element: The Prince's Council was very unhappy, in the whole conduct of the cruizers and convoys: The merchants made heavy complaints, and not without reason: convoys were fometimes denied them; and when they were granted, they were often delayed beyond the

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time limited, for the merchants to get their ships in readiness: rea

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readiness: and the failing orders were sometimes 1707. fent them so unhappily (but as many faid, so treacherously) that a French squadron was then laying in their way, to intercept them. This was liable to very fevere reflections: For many of the convoys, as well as the merchant-ships, were taken: And to compleat the misfortunes of our affairs at Sea, this year, when Sir Cloudefly Shovel was failing home, with the great ships, by an unaccountable carelessness and security, he, and two other capital ships, ran foul upon those rocks, beyond the Land's End, known by the name of the Bishop and his Clerks; and they were in a minute broke to pieces; fo that not a man of them escaped. It was dark, but there was no wind, otherwise the whole fleet had perished with them: All the rest tack'd in time, and so they were faved. Thus one of the greatest seamen of the age was loft, by an error in his own profession, and a great mifreckoning; for he had lain by, all the day before, and fet fail at night, believing, that next morning, he would have time enough, to guard against running on those rocks; but he was swallowed up within three hours after.

This was the state of our affairs abroad, both by Proceedfea and land. Things went at home in their ordinary ings with channels: But the conduct with relation to Scot- relation to land, was more unaccountable: For whereas, it Scotland. might have been reasonably expected, that the management, of the newly united part of this island, should have been particularly taken care of, so as to give no just distaste to the Scots, nor offer handles to those, who were still endeavouring to inflame that nation, and to encrease their aversion to the union: Things were, on the contrary, so ordered, as if the defign had been to contrive methods, to exalperate the spirits of the people there. Though the management of the Scotch revenue was to fall into the Lord Treasurer's hands, on the first of May, no care was taken to have all the commissions

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So that the whole trade of Scotland was stopped, for almost two months, for want of orders, to put it into the new course, in which it was to be carried on. Three months passed, before the equivalent was fent to Scotland: And when wines and other merchandize were imported into England from thence, seizures were every where made, and this was managed with a particular affectation of roughness, All these things heightened the prejudices, with which that nation had been possessed, against the union: It was also known, that many messages paffed, between Scotland and France; and that there were many meetings and much confultation, among the discontented party there; a great body appeared openly for the pretended Prince of Wales; and celebrated his birth-day very publickly, both at Edinburgh, and in other places of the kingdom; and it was openly talked, that there was now an opportunity, that was not to be loft, of invading the kingdom, though with a small force; and that a general concurrence, from the body of that nation, might be depended on: These things were done, in so barefaced a manner, that no check being given to them, nor enquiry made after them, by those who were in the government, it gave occasion to many melancholy speculations. The management from England looked, like a thing concerted, to heighten that diftemper; and the whole conduct of the fleet afforded great cause of jea-

A new party at court.

But to open this, as clearly as it has yet appeared to me, I must give an account of a new scene at court. It was observed, that Mr. Harley, who had been for some years secretary of State, had gained great credit with the Queen, and began to set up for himself, and to act no more under the direction of the Lord Treasurer: There was one of the bedchamber women, who, being nearly related to the Dutchess of Marlborough had been taken care of by her, together with her whole family

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(for they were fallen low) in a most particular man- 1707. ner. She brought her not only into that post, but the had treated her with fuch a confidence that it had introduced her into a high degree of favour with the Queen: Which, for some years, was considered as an effect of the Dutchess of Marlborough's credit with her; she was also nearly related to Mr. Harley; and they two entered into a close correspondence. She learned the arts of a court, and observed the Queen's temper, with so much application, that the got far into her heart: And the imployed all her credit, to establish Harley in the supreme considence with the Queen, and to alienate her affections from the Dutchess of Marlborough, who studied no other method of preserving her Favour, but by pursuing the true interest of the Queen, and of the kingdom. It was faid, that the Prince was brought into the concert; and that he was made to apprehend, that he had too small a share in the government, and that he was shut out from it, by the great power, that the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Treafurer had drawn into their hands: It was faid, all depended on them, that the Queen was only a cypher in the government, that she was in the Dutchess of Marlborough's hands, as her affairs were in the Duke of Marlborough's: It was likewife talked among those, who made their court to the new favourites, that there was not now a Jacobite in the nation, that all were for the Queen, and that, without doubt, the would reign out peaceably her whole life; but the needed not concern herfelf for a German family: These discourses began to break out, and gave fad thoughts to those to whom they were brought. This went on too long, little regarded; the Dutchess of Marlborough seemed secure of her interest in the Queen, and shewed no jealousy of a favour, to which herself gave the first rise. This was the state of the court at the opening of the lession of Parliament.

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Promotions in the church.

There were, at that time, three Bishopricks va. cant: Trelawny had been removed, the fummer before, from Exeter to Winchester; which gave great difgust to many, he being considerable for nothing, but his birth, and his interest in Cornwall. The Lord Treasurer had engaged himself to him, and he was fenfible that he was much reflected upon for it. But he, to foften the censure that this brought on him, had promised, that, for the future, preferments should be bestowed on men well principled, with relation to the present constitution, and on men of merit. The Queen, without regarding this, did fecretly engage herfelf to Dr. Blackhall for Exeter; and Chefter (being at the same time void, by the death of Dr. Stratford) to Sir William Dawes for that fee: These divines were in themselves men of value and worth, but their notions were all on the other fide; they had submitted to the government, but they, at least Blackhall, seemed to condemn the revolution, and all that had been done purfuant to it. Dawes also was looked on, as an aspiring man, who would fet himself at the head of the tory party: fo this nomination gave a great difgult. To qualify this a little, Patrick, the pious and learned Bishop of Ely, dying at this time, the Queen advanced More from Norwich thither; and Dr. Trimnell, a worthy person in all respects, was named for Norwich: Yet this did not quiet the uneafiness, many were under, by reason of the other nominations, which feemed to flow from the Queen herfelf, and fo discovered her inclinations. To prevent the ill effects, that this might have, in the approaching fession, some of the eminent members of the House of Commons were called to a meeting with the Dukes of Somerfet and Devonshire: These Lords affured them, in the Queen's name, that she was very fensible of the services, the whigs did her; and tho' she had engaged herself fo far, with relation to those two Bishopricks, that she could not recall the promises she had made, yet 124

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yet for for the future, she was resolved to give them full 1707. content. But while this was faid to fome whigs, Harley and his friends, St. John and Harcourt, took great pains on the leaders of the tories (in particular on Hanmer, Bromley and Freeman) to engage them in the Queen's interests: affuring them, that her heart was with them, that she was weary of the tyranny of the whigs, and long'd to be deliver'd from it. But they were not wrought on, by that management; they either mistrusted it, as done only to enfnare them, or they had other views, which they did not think fit to own. This doubledealing came to be known, and gave occasion to much jealoufy and distrust. A little before the session was opened, an eminent misfortune happen'd at lea: A convoy, of five ships of the line of battel, was fent to Portugal, to guard a great fleet of merchant-ships; and they were ordered to fail, as if it had been by concert, at a time when a squadron from Dunkirk had joined another from Brest, and lay in the way, waiting for them. Some advertisements were brought to the admiralty, of this conjunction, but they were not believed. When the French fet upon them, the convoy did their part very gallantly, though the enemy were three to one; one of the ships was blown up, three of them were taken, so that only one elcaped, much shattered: But they had fought so long, that most of the merchant-men had time to get away, and failed on, not being purfued, and fo got fafe to Lifbon. This, coming almost at the fame time with the misfortune, that happened to Shovel, the fession was begun with a melancholy face; and a dispute, upon their opening, had almost put them into great disorder.

It was generally thought that though this was a Parliament, that had now fate two years, yet it was a new Parliament, by reason it had been let sall, and was revived by a proclamation, as was formerly told: And the consequence of this was, Vol. IV.

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1707. that those who had got places, were to go to a new election. Others maintained, that it could not be a new Parliament, fince it was not fummoned by a new writ, but by virtue of a clause in an act of Parliament. The Duke of Marlborough, upon his coming over, prevailed to have it yielded to be a new Parliament; but Harley was for main. taining it to be an old Parliament. The House of Commons chose the same Speaker over again, and all the usual forms, in the first beginning of a new Parliament, were observed.

Complaints of the admiralty.

These were no sooner over, than the complaints of the admiralty were offered to both houses: Great losses were made, and all was imputed to the weakness, or to a worse disposition, in some, who had great credit with the Prince, and were believed to govern that whole matter: For as they were entirely possessed of the Prince's confidence, fo when the Prince's council was divided in their opinions, the decision was left to the Prince, who understood very little of those matters, and was always determined by others. By this means they were really Lord High Admiral, without being liable to the law for errors and miscarriages. council was not a legal court, warranted by any law, though they affumed that to themselves; being counfellors, they were bound to answer only for their fidelity. The complaints were feebly managed, at the bar of the House of Commons; for it was foon understood, that not only the Prince, but the Queen likewise concerned herself much in this matter: And both looked on it as a design, levelled at their Authority. Both whigs and tories feemed to be at first equally zealous in the matter; but by reason of the opposition of the Court, all those, who intended to recommend themselves to favour, abated of their zeal: Some were vehement in their endeavours to baffle the complaints: They had great advantages, from the merchants managing their complaints but poorly; some were frighted,

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and others were practifed on, and were carried even 1707. to magnify the conduct of the fleet, and to make excuses for all the misfortunes that had happened. That which had the chief operation, on the whole tory party, was, that it was fet round among them, that the defign of all these complaints, was, to put the Earl of Orford again at the head of the fleet: Upon which they all changed their note. and they, in concurrence with those, who were in offices, or pretended to them, managed the matter so, that it was let fall, very little to their honour. Unkind remarks were made on fome, who had changed their conduct upon their being preferred at court; but the matter was managed with more zeal and courage in the House of Lords, both whigs and tories concurring in it.

A committee was appointed, to examine the Examined complaints; they called the merchants, who had by the figned the petition, before them; and treated them Lords. not with the fcorn, that was very indecently offered them by some of the House of Commons, but with great patience and gentleness: They obliged them, to prove all their complaints, by witneffes upon oath. In the profecution of the enquiry, it appeared, that many ships of war were not fitted out, to be put to fea, but lay in port neglected, and in great decay; that convoys had been often flatly denied the merchants, and that when they were promifed, they were fo long delayed, that the merchants lost their markets, were put to great charge, and, when they had perishable goods, fuffered great damage in them: The cruizers were not order'd to proper stations in the Channel; and when convoys were appointed, and were ready to put to fea, they had not their failing orders fent them, till the enemies ships were laid in their way, prepared to fall on them, which had often happened. Many advertisements, by which those misfortunes might have been prevented, had been offered to the admiralty, but had not only been neglected P 2

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1707. neglected by them, but those, who offered them. had been ill treated for doing it. The committee made report of all this to the House of Lords; upon which, the Lord Treasurer moved, that a copy of the report might be fent to the Lord Admiral, which was done, and in a few days an anfwer was fent to the house, excusing, or justifying the conduct, in all the branches of it. The chief foundation of the answer was, that the great fleets, which were kept in the Mediterranean, obliged us to fend away so many of our ships and seamen thither, that there was not a fufficient number left, to guard all our trade, while the enemy turned all their forces at fea into fquadrons for destroying it; and that all the ships, that could be spared, from the publick fervice abroad, were imployed to fecure the trade; the promise of convoys had been often delayed, by reason of cross winds, and other accidents, that had hindred the return of our men of war longer, than was expected; they being then abroad, convoying other merchant-ships: And it was faid, that there was not a fufficient number of ships, for cruizers and convoys both. The paper ended, with fome fevere reflections on the last reign, in which great fums were given, for the building of ships, and yet the fleet was at that time much diminished, and four thousand merchant ships had been taken during that war: This was believed to have been fuggested by Mr. Harley, on design to mortify King William's Ministry. Upon reading of this answer, a new and a fuller examination of the particulars was again refumed, by the fame committee; and all the allegations in it were exactly confidered: It appeared, that the half of those seamen, that the Parliament had provided for, were not employed in the Mediterranean, that many ships lay idle in port, and were not made use of; and that in the last war, in which it appeared there were more feamen, though not more ships, employed in the Mediterranean, than were now kept there, yet the em,

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the trade was so carefully looked after, by cruizers 1707. and convoys, that few complaints were then made: And as to the reflections made on the last reign, it was found that not half the fum, that was named, was given for the building of ships; and that inflead of the fleet's being diminished, during that war, as had been affirmed, it was increased by above forty ships; nor could any proof be given, that four thousand ships were taken during that war: All the feamen, who were then taken and exchanged, did not exceed 15000, and in the present war 18000 were already exchanged; and we had 2000 fill remaining in our enemies hands: So much had the Prince been imposed on, in that paper, that was fent to the Lords in his name.

When the examination was ended, and reported And laid to the House, it was resolved to lay the whole matter before the Queen, in an address; and then the anaddress. tones discovered the delign, that they drove at; for they moved in the committee, that prepared the address, that the blame of all the miscarriages might be laid on the Ministry, and on the Cabinet Council. It had been often faid in the House of Lords, that it was not intended, to make any complaint of the Prince himself; and it not being admitted, that his council was of a legal constitution, the complaining of them would be an acknowledging their authority; therefore the blame could be laid regularly no where, but on the Ministry: This was much pressed by the Duke of Buckingham, the Earl of Rochester, and the Lord Haversham. But to this it was answered, by the Earl of Orford, the Lord Somers, and the Lord Halifax, that the House ought to lay before the Queen only that, which was made out before them upon oath: And therefore fince, in the whole examination, the Miniltry, and the Cabinet Council were not once named, they could offer the Queen nothing to their prejudice. Some of the things complained of, fell on the navy-board, which was a body,

acting by a legal authority: The Lords ought to lay before the Queen, fuch miscarriages as were proved to them; and leave it to Her, to find out, on whom the blame ought to be cast: So far was the Ministry, from appearing to be in fault, that they found several advertisements were sent, by the Secretaries of State, to the Admiralty, that, as appeared afterwards, were but too well grounded, yet these were neglected by them; and that which raised the clamour the higher, was, that during the winter there were no cruizers laying in the Channel; fo that many ships which had run through all dangers at fea, were taken in fight of land, for the privateers came up boldly to our ports. All this was digested into a full and clear address, laid, by the House, before the Queen: There was a general answer made to it, giving affurances, that the trade should be carefully looked to; but nothing elfe followed upon it; and the Queen feemed to be highly offended at the whole proceeding. At this time, an enquiry likewife into the affairs of Spain was begun in both Houses.

Enquiry into the affairs of Spain.

an additale.

The Earl of Peterborough had received fuch pofitive orders recalling him, that though he delayed as long as he could, yet at last he came home in August: But the Queen, before she would admit him into her presence, required of him an account of fome particulars in his conduct, both in military matters, in his negotiations, and in the disposal of the money remitted to him. He made fuch general answers, as gave little satisfaction: But he seemed to referve the matter to a parliamentary examination, which was entred upon by both Houses. All the tories magnified his conduct, and studied to detract from the Earl of Gallway; but it was thought, that the Ministry were under some restraints, with relation to the Earl of Peterborough, though he did not spare them; which gave occafion to many to fay, they were afraid of him, and durst not provoke him. The whigs, on the other hand, made fevere remarks on his conduct: The

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complaints, that King Charles made of him, were 1707. read, upon which he brought fuch a number of papers, and so many witnesses to the bar, to justify his conduct, that after ten or twelve days, ipent wholly in reading papers, and in hearing witneffes, both Houses grew equally weary of the matter; so, without coming to any conclusion, or to any vote, they let all, that related to him, fall: But that gave them a handle, to confider the present state of affairs in Spain. It was found, that we had not above half the troops there, that the Parliament had made provision for; and that not above half the officers, that belonged to those bodies, served there; this gave the House of Commons a high distaste, and it was hoped by the tories, that they should have carried the House to severe votes and warm addresses on that head; which was much laboured by them, in order to load the ministry. In this, Harley and his party were very cold and paffive, and it was generally believed, that the matter was privately fet on by them: But the Court fent an explanation of the whole matter to the House, by which it appeared, that though, by death and defertion, the number of the troops there was much diminished, yet the whole number provided, or at least very near it, was fent out of England. The fervice in Spain was much decried; and there was good reason for it; things there could not be furnished, but at excessive rates, and the foldiers were generally ill used in their quarters. They were treated very unkindly, not by King Charles, but by those about him, and by the bigotted Spaniards.

During these debates, severe things were said in general, of the conduct of affairs, in both Houses:
It was observed, that a vast army was well supplied in Flanders, but that the interest of the nation required, that Spain should be more considered: It was moved in both Houses, that the Emperor P 4 should

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should be earnestly applied to, to send Prince Eugene into Spain; complaints were also made of the Duke of Marlborough, as continuing the war, though, at the end of the campaign of 1706, the French had offered to yield up Spain and the West. Indies; but that was a false suggestion. All these heats in the House, after they had got this vent, were allayed: The Queen affured them, all past errors should be redressed for the future; and with repeated importunities, she pressed the Emperor to fend Prince Eugene to Spain: That Court delayed to comply in this particular; but fent Count Staremberg thither, who had indeed acquired a very high reputation. The Queen entered also into engagements with the Emperor, that she would transport, pay, and furnish all the troops, that he could spare for his brother's service. These steps quieted the discontent, the House had expressed, upon the ill conduct of affairs in Spain; but upon Stanhope's coming over, he gave a better prospect of affairs there; and he found a readiness, to agree to all the propositions, that he was fent over to make. All this while an act was preparing, both for a better fecurity to our trade by cruizers and convoys, and for the encouraging privateers, particularly in the West-Indies, and in the South-Sea. were to have all they could take, entirely to themfelves; the fame encouragement was also given to the captains of the Queen's ships, with this difference, that the captains of privateers were to divide their capture, according to agreements made among themselves; but they left the distribution of prizes, taken by men of war, to the Queen: Who, by proclamation, ordered them to be divided into eight shares; of which the captain was to have three, unless he had a superior officer over him, in which case, the Commodore was to have one of the three; the other five parts were to be distributed equally, among the officers and mariners of the thips, put in five different classes; All the clauses,

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that the merchants defired, to encourage privateers, were readily granted, and it was hoped, that a great flock would be railed to carry on this private war. This past without opposition, all concurring in it.

But as to other matters, the tories discovered much ill-humour against the Ministry; which broke out on all occasions: And the jealousies, with which the whigs were possessed, made them as cold as the others were hot. This gave the Ministers great uneafiness: They found Mr. Harley was endeavouring to supplant them at court, and to heighten the ealousies of the whigs; for he set it about among the tories, as well as among the whigs, that both the Duke of Marlborough and the Lord Treasurer were as much inclined, to come into measures with the tories, as the Queen herself was: This broke out, and was like to have had very ill effects; it had almost lost them the whigs, though it did not bring over the tories.

At this time two discoveries were made, very un- Discovelucky for Mr. Harley: Tallard wrote oft to Cha-ries of a millard, but he fent his letters open, to the fecretary's corresponoffice, to be perused and sealed up, and so to be con- France. veyed by the way of Holland: These were opened, upon fome fuspicion in Holland; and it appeared, that one, in the Secretary's office, put letters in them, in which, as he offered his fervice to the courts of France and St. Germains, so he gave an account of all transactions here: In one of these, he sent a copy of the letter, that the Queen was to write, in her own hand, to the Emperor: And he marked what parts of the letter were drawn by the Secretary, and what additions were made to it, by the Lord Treasurer: This was the letter, by which the Queen pressed the sending Prince Eugene into Spain, and this, if not intercepted, would have been at Verfailles, many days before it could reach Vienna. He, who fent this, wrote, that by this they might lee what service he could do them, if well encouraged; all this was fent over to the Duke of Marlborough,

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borough, and upon fearch, it was found to be writ by one Gregg, a clerk, whom Harley had not only entertained, but had taken into a particular confidence, without enquiry into the former parts of his life; for he was a vicious and a necessitous person. who had been Secretary to the Queen's Envoy in Denmark, but was difmiffed by him, for those his ill qualities. Harley had made use of him to get him intelligence, and he came to trust him with the perusal, and the sealing up of the letters, which the French prisoners, here in England, sent over to France: And by that means, he got into the method of fending intelligence thither. He, when feized on, either upon remorfe, or the hopes of pardon, confessed all, and figned his confession; upon that he was tried; he pleaded guilty, and was condemned as a traitor, for corresponding with the Queen's enemies. At the fame time Valiere and Bara, whom Harley had imployed, as his fpies, to go oft over to Calais, under the pretence of bringing him intelligence, were informed against, as spies imployed by France, to get intelligence from England; who carried over many letters to Calais and Bulloign: and, as was believed, gave fuch information of our trade and convoys, that by their means, we had made our great losses at sea. They were often complained of upon fuspicion, but they were always protected by Harley; yet the prefumptions against them were so violent, that they were at last seized on and brought up prisoners. These accidents might make Harley more earnest, to bring about a change in the conduct of affairs, in which he relied on the credit of the new favourite. The Duke of Marlborough, and the Lord Treasurer having difcovered many of his practices, laid them before the Queen: She would believe nothing, that was suggested to his prejudice: She denied she had given any authority, for carrying messages to the tories; but would not believe, that he or his friends had done it, nor would she enter into any examination 2

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tion of his ill conduct, and was uneasy when she heard it spoke of. So these Lords wrote to the Queen, that they could ferve her no longer, if he was continued in that post: And on the Sunday following, when they were fummoned to a Cabinet Council, they both went to the Queen, and told her, they must guit her service, since they saw, she was refolved not to part with Harley. She feemed not much concerned, at the Lord Godolphin's offering to lay down; and it was believed, to be a part of Harley's new scheme to remove him; but she was much touched with the Duke of Marlborough's offering to quit, and studied, with some soft expresfions, to divert him from that refolution: but he was firm, and she did not yield to them: So they both went away, to the wonder of the whole court. Immediately after, the Queen went to the Cabinet Council, and Harley opened fome matters, relating to foreign affairs: The whole board was very uneasy; the Duke of Somerset said, he did not see how they could deliberate on fuch matters, fince the General was not with them; he repeated this with lome vehemence, while all the rest looked so cold and fullen, that the Cabinet Council was foon at an end; and the Queen saw, that the rest of her Ministers, and the chief officers, were resolved to withdraw from her service, if she did not recall the two, that had left it. It was faid, that she would have put all to the hazard, if Harley himself had not apprehended his danger, and refolved to lay down: The Queen fent the next day for the Duke of Marlborough, and after fome expostulations, she told him, Harley should immediately leave his post, which he did within two days: But the Queen feemed to carry a deep refentment of his and the Lord Godolphin's behaviour on this occasion; and tho' they went on with her business, they found they had not her confidence. The Dutchess of Marlborough did, for fome weeks, abstain from going to court, but afterwards that breach was made up in appear-

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1708. ance, though it was little more than an appearance. Both Houses of Parliament expressed a great concern, at this rupture in the court; and apprehended the ill effects it might have: The Commons let the bill of supply lie on the table, tho' it was ordered for that day: And the Lords ordered a committee, to examine Gregg and the other prisoners. As Harley laid down, both Harcourt, then Attorney-General, Mansel, the Comptroller of the Houshold. and St. John the Secretary of War, went and laid down with him. The Queen took much time to consider, how she should fill some of these places, but Mr. Boyle, uncle to the Earl of Burlington, was presently made Secretary of State.

An examito that correspondence.

The Lords, who were appointed to examine nation in- Gregg, could not find out much by him; he had but newly begun his defigns of betraying fecrets; and he had no affociates with him in it: He told them, that all the papers of state lay so carelesly about the office, that every one belonging to it, even the door-keepers, might have read them all. Harley's custom was to come to the office, late on post-nights, and after he had given his orders, and wrote his letters, he usually went away, and left all to be copied out, when he was gone: By that means he came to fee every thing, in particular the Queen's letter to the Emperor. He faid, he knew the defign on Toulon in May last, but he did not discover it; for he had not entred on his ill practices till October: This was all he could fay. By the examination of Valiere and Bara, and of many others, who lived about Dover and were imployed by them, a discovery was made of a constant intercourse, they were in with Calais, under Harley's protection: They often went over with boats full of wooll, and brought back brandy; though both the import and export were severely prohibited: They, and those who belonged to the boats, carried over by them, were well treated on the French fide, at the Governor's house, or at the Commissary's; they were kept

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kept there, till their letters could be fent to Paris, 1703. and till returns could be brought back, and were all the while upon free cost: The order, that was conflantly given them, was, that if an English or Dutch ship came up to them, they should cast their letters into the fea; but that they should not do it. when French ships came up to them: so they were looked on, by all on that coast, as the spies of They used to get what information they could, both of merchant-ships, and of the ships of war, that lay in the Downs; and upon that they usually went over, and it happened that soon after fome of those ships were taken: These men, as they were papifts, fo they behaved themselves very infolently, and boafted much of their power and credit. Complaints had been often made of them, but they were always protected; nor did it appear, that they ever brought any information of importance to Harley but once, when, according to what they iwore, they told him, that Fourbin was gone from Dunkirk, to lie in wait for the Ruffia fleet; which proved to be true: he both went to watch for them, and he took a great part of the fleet. Yet, though this was the fingle piece of intelligence that they ever brought, Harley took fo little notice of it, that he gave no advertisement to the admiralty, concerning it. This particular excepted, they only brought over common news, and the Paris Gazettes. These examinations lasted for some weeks; when they were ended, a full report was made of them, to the House of Lords; and they ordered the whole report, with all the examinations, to be laid before the Queen in an address, in which they represented to her the necessity of making Gregg a publick example; upon which he was executed: He continued to clear all other persons of any accession to his crimes, of which he feemed very fenfible, and died much better than he had lived.

A very few days after the breach, that had happened at court, we were alarmed from Holland, with

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1708. with the news of a defign, of which the French made then no fecret; that they were fending the pretended Prince of Wales to Scotland, with a fleet and an army, to possess himself of that kingdom. But before I go further, I will give an account, of all that related to the affairs of that part of the ifland.

The members, fent from Scotland, to both ings with Houses of Parliament were treated with very parrelation to ticular marks of respect and esteem: and they were persons of such distinction, that they very well deferved it. The first thing proposed, in the House of Commons, with relation to them, was to take off the stop, that was put on their trade: It was agreed unanimously, to pray the Queen by an address, that she would give order for it; some debate arising only, whether it was a matter of right or of favour: Harley pressed the last, to justify those proceedings, in which he himself had so great a share, as was formerly fet forth, and on which others made fevere reflections: But fince all agreed in the conclusion, the dispute concerning the premisses was soon let fall. After this, a more important matter was proposed, concerning the government of Scotland, whether it should continue in a distinct Privy Council, or not: All the court was for it; those, who governed Scotland, defired to keep up their authority there, with the advantage they made by it: and they gave the Ministers of England great affurances, that by their influence, elections might be fo managed as to serve all the ends of the court; but they faid, that without due care, these might be carried fo, as to run all the contrary way. This was the fecret motive, yet this could not be owned in a publick affembly; fo that, which was pretended, was, that many great families in Scotland, with the greatest part of the Highlanders, were so ill affected, that without a watchful eye, ever intent upon them, they could not be kept quiet: It lay at too great a diftance from London, to be governed by orders fent from thence. h

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thence. To this it was answered, that by the circuits 1708. of the justiciary courts, and by justices of peace, that country might be well governed, notwithstanding its distance, as Wales and Cornwall were. It was carried, upon a division, by a great majority, that there should be only one Privy Council for the whole island. When it was fent up to the Lords, it met with a great opposition there: The Court flood alone; all the tories, and the much greater part of the whigs were for the bill. The Court, feeing the party for the bill fo strong, was willing to compound the matter; and whereas, by the bill, the council of Scotland was not to fit after the first of May, the Court moved to have it continued, to the first of October. It was visible that this was proposed only, in order to the managing elections for the next Parliament; so the Lords adhered to the day prefixed in the bill: But a new debate arose about the power, given by the bill to the justices of peace, which seemed to be an encroachment on the jurisdiction of the Lords Regalities, and of the hereditary Sheriffs and Stewards, who had the right of trying criminals, in the first instance, for fourteen days time: Yet it was ordinary, in the cases of great crimes and riots, for the Privy Council to take immediate cognizance of them, without any regard to the fourteen days; so by this act, the justices of peace were only impowered to do that, which the Privy Council usually did: And except the occalion was to great, as to demand a quick dispatch, it was not to be doubted, but that the justices of peace would have great regard to all private rights; yet fince this had the appearance, of breaking in upon private rights, this was much infifted on, by those who hoped, by laying aside these powers given to the justices of the peace, to have gained the main point of keeping up a Privy Council in Scotland: For all the Scotch ministers said, the country would be in great danger, if there were not a supreme go1708. vernment still kept up in it: But it seemed an abfurd thing, that there should be a different administration, where there was but one legislature. While Scotland had an entire legislature within itfelf, the nation affembled in Parliament could procure the correction of errors in the administration: Whereas now, that it was not a tenth part of the legislative body, if it was still to be kept under a different administration, that nation could not have strength enough, to procure a redress of its grievances in Parliament; so they might come to be subdued and governed as a province: And the arbitrary way, in which the council of Scotland had proceeded, ever fince King James the First's time, but more particularly fince the restoration, was fresh in memory, and had been no small motive, to induce the best men of that nation to promote the Union; that they might be delivered from the tyranny of the council: And their hopes would be disappointed, if they were still kept under that yoke. This point was in conclusion yielded, and the bill passed, though to the great discontent of the court; there was a new court of Exchequer created in Scotland, according to the frame of that court in England: Special acts were made, for the elections and the returns of the representatives, in both Houses of Parliament; and such was the disposition of the English to oblige them, and the behaviour of the Scots was so good and discreet, that every thing that was proposed for the good of their country, was agreed to; both whigs and tories vied with one another, who should shew most care and concern for the welfare of that part of Great Britain.

A descent defigned upon Scotland.

On the twentieth of February, which was but a few days after the act, dissolving the council in Scotland, had passed, we understood there was a fleet prepared in Dunkirk, with about twelve battalions, and a train of all things necessary for a descent in Scotland: And a few days after, we heard

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that the pretended Prince of Wales was come from Paris, with all the British and Irish, that were about him, in order to his imbarkation. The furprize was great, for it was not looked for, nor had we a prospect of being able to set out in time a fleet, able to deal with theirs, which confifted of twenty-fix ships, most of them of above forty guns: But that providence (which has, on all occasions, directed matters to happily for our prefervation) did appear very fignally in this critical conjuncture: Our greatest want was of seamen, to mann the fleet; for the ships were ready to be put to sea: This was supplied, by feveral fleets of merchant ships, that came home at that time, with their convoys: The Flag Officers were very acceptable to the feamen, and they bestirred themselves so effectually, that, with the help of an embargo, there was a fleet of above forty ships, got ready in a fortnight's time, to the furprize of all at home, as well as abroad: These stood over to Dunkirk, just as they were im- A fleet barking there. Upon the fight of fo great a fleet, failed Fourbin, who commanded the French fleet, fent from Dunto Paris for new orders: He himself was against venturing out, when they faw a superior fleet, ready to engage, or to purfue them. The King of France fent positive orders to prosecute the design: So Fourbin (feeing that our fleet, after it had shewed itself to them, finding the tides and sea run high, as being near the equinox, had failed back into the Downs) took that occasion to go out of Dunkirk on the eighth of March: But contrary winds kept him on that coast, till the eleventh, and then he fet fail with a fair wind. Our Admiral, Sir George Bing, came over again to watch his motions; and as foon as he understood, that he had failed, which was not till twenty hours after, he followed him. The French defigned to have landed in the Frith, but they outfailed their point a few leagues; and by the time, that they had got back to the north hde of the Frith, Bing came to the fouth fide of it, VOL. IV

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and gave the fignal for coming to an anchor; this was heard by Fourbin: He had fent a frigate into the Frith, to give fignals, which it feems had been agreed on, but no answers were made. The defign was to land near Edinburgh, where they believed the caftle was in fo bad a condition, and fo ill provided, that it must have surrendered upon summons: And they reckoned, that upon the reputation of that, the whole body of the kingdom would have come in to them. But when Fourbin understood, on the thirteenth of March, that Bing was fo near him, he tacked, and would not flay to venture an engagement. Bing purfued him, with all the fail that he could make, but the French flood out to fea; there was some firing on the ships, that failed the heaviest, and the Salisbury, a ship taken from us, and then their Vice-Admiral, was engaged by two English ships, and taken without any refistance. There were about 500 land-men on board her, with some officers and persons of quality, the chief of these were the Lord Griffin, and the Earl of Middleton's two fons. Bing (having loft fight of the French, confidering that the Frith was the station of the greatest importance, as well as fafety, and was the place where they defigned to land) put in there, till he could hear what course the French steered: The tides ran high, and there was a strong gale of wind. Upon the alarm of the intended descent, orders were sent to Scotland, to draw all their Forces about Edinburgh: The troops that remained in England were ordered to march to Scotland: And the troops in Ireland were ordered to march northward, to be ready when called for: There were also twelve battalions sent from Ostend under a good convoy, and they lay at the mouth of the Tine till further orders. Thus all preparations were made to diffipate that small force: But it appeared, that the French relied chiefly on the affiftance, that they expected would have come in to them, upon their landing: Of this they feemed so well affured, that the King of France sent in- 1708. structions, to his Ministers in all the courts, that admitted of them, to be published every where, Reports fpread that the pretended Prince being invited by his fub-by the jects, chiefly those of Scotland, to take possession French. of the throne of his ancestors, the King had sent him over at their defire, with a fleet and army to affift him: That he was resolved to pardon all those, who should come in to him, and he would trouble none upon the account of religion: Upon his being re-established, the King would give peace to the rest of Europe. When these Ministers received these directions, they had likewise advice sent them, which they published both at Rome, Venice, and in Switzerland, that the French had, before this expedition was undertaken, fent over some ships with arms and ammunition to Scotland: And that there was already an army on foot there, that had proclaimed this pretended Prince, King. It was fomewhat extraordinary to fee fuch eminent falshoods published all Europe over: They also affirmed, that hostages were sent from Scotland to Paris, to secure the observing the engagements they had entered into; though all this was fiction and contrivance.

The States were struck with great apprehenlions, to were all the Allies; for though they were lo long accustomed to the cunning practices of the court of France, yet this was an original; and therefore it was generally concluded, that to small an army, and so weak a fleet would not have been lent, but upon great affurances of affiltance, not only from Scotland, but from England: And upon this occasion, severe reflections were made, both on the conduct of the Admiralty, and on that tract of correspondence lately discovered, that was managed under Harley's protection: And on the great breach, that was so near the disjointing all our affairs, but a few days before. These things,

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thoughts of no easy digestion.

The Parliament flands firmly by

The Parliament was fitting, and the Queen, in a speech to both Houses, communicated to them the advertisements she had received: Both Houses the Queen made addresses to her, giving her full affurance of their adhering stedfastly to her, and to the Protestant succession: And mixed with these broad intimations, of their apprehensions of treachery at They passed also two bills; the one, that the abjuration might be tendred to all persons, and that fuch as refused it, should be in the condition of convict recufants: By the other, they suspended the Habeas Corpus act till October, with relation to persons taken up by the government upon suspicion: And the House of Commons, by a vote, engaged to make good to the Queen, all the extraordinary charge, this expedition might put her to.

The French fleet got again into Dunkirk.

A fortnight went over, before we had any news of the French fleet: Three of their ships landed near the mouth of Spey, only to refresh themfelves; for the ships being so filled with landmen, there was a great want of water: At last all their ships got fate into Dunkirk: The landmen either died at fea, or were fo ill, that all the hospitals in Dunkirk were filled with them. It was reckoned, that they loft above 4000 men, in this unaccountable expedition: For they were above a month toffed in a very tempestuous sea. Many suspected persons were taken up in Scotland, and some sew in England: But further discoveries of their correspondents were not then made. If they had landed, it might have had an ill effect on our affairs, chiefly with relation to all paper credit: And if by this, the remittances to Piedmont, Catalonia, and Portugal had been stopped, in so critical a season, that might have had fatal confequences abroad: For it we had been put into fuch a diforder at home, that foreign Princes could no more reckon on our affiltar

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ance, they might have been disposed to hearken to the propositions, that the King of France would then have probably made to them. So that, the total defeating of this defign, without its having the least ill effect on our affairs, or our losing one fingle man in the little engagement, we had with the enemy, is always to be reckoned as one of those happy providences, for which we have much to Hours tracks

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The Queen feemed much alarmed with this matter, and faw with what falfhoods she had been abused, by those who pretended to affure her, there was not now a Jacobite in the nation: One variation in her style was now observed: She had never, in any speech, mentioned the revolution, or those, who had been concerned in it: And many of those, who made a considerable figure about her, studied, though against all sense and reason, to diffinguish her title from the revolution: It was plainly founded on it, and on nothing else. In the speeches she now made, she named the revolution twice: And faid she would look on thole concerned in it, as the furest to her interests: She also fixed a new defignation on the pretended Prince of Wales, and called him the Pretender; and he was fo called in a new fet of addresses, which, upon this occasion, were made to the Queen: And I intend to follow the precedent, as often as I may have occasion hereafter to mention him. The fession of Parliament was closed in March, foon after defeating this defign of a descent: It was diffolved in April by proclamation, and the writs were iffued out, for the elections of a new Parliament, which raifed that ferment over the nation, that was usual on such occasions. The just and visible dangers, to which the attempt of the invasion had exposed the nation, produced very good effects: For the elections did, for the most part, fall on men well affected to the government, and zealoufly fet against the Pretender. As

1708. The defigns of the campaign are concerted.

As foon as the state of affairs at home was well fetcled, the Duke of Marlborough went over to Holland, and there Prince Eugene met him: Being fent by the Emperor, to concert with him and the States, the operations of the campaign; from the Hague, they both went to Hanover, to fettle all matters relating to the empire, and to engage the Elector to return, to command the army on the Every thing was fixed: Prince upper Rhine. Eugene went back to Vienna, and was obliged to return by the beginning of June; for the campaign was then to be opened every where.

The Princes of France fent to the army in Flanders.

The court of France was much mortified, by the disappointment, they had met with in their designs against us: But to put more life in their troops, they refolved to fend the Duke of Burgundy with the Duke of Berry to be at the head of their army in Flanders: The Pretender went with them, without any other character, than that of the Chevalier de St. George. The Elector of Bavaria, with the Duke of Berwick, were fent to command in Alface, and Marshal Villars was fent to head the forces in Dauphiny. The credit, with relation to money, was still very low in France: For after many methods taken for raising the credit of the mint-bills, they were still at a discount of forty per Cent. No fleets came this year from the West-Indies, so that they could not be supplied from thence.

The Duke fent to Spain.

The Duke of Orleans was fent to command in of Orleans Spain; and according to the vanity of that nation, it was given out, that they were to have mighty armies, in many different places, and to put an end to the war there: Great rains fell all the winter, in all the parts of Spain; so that the campaign could not be so soon opened, as it was at first intended. The bills, that the Duke of Orleans brought with him to Spain, were protested, at which he was so much displeased, that he desired to be recalled: This was remedied in some degree, though far short of what was promised to him. The

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troops of Portugal, that lay at Barcelona, ever fince the battle of Almanza, were brought about c by a fquadron of our ships, to the defence of their own country: Sir John Leak came also over thither from England with recruits and other supplies, that the Queen was to furnish that crown with: And when all was landed, he failed into the Mediterranean, to bring over troops from Italy, for the strengthening of King Charles, whose affairs were in great diforder.

After all the boafting of the Spaniards, their Tortofa army on the fide of Portugal was fo weak, that befieged they could not attempt any thing; fo this was and taken. a very harmless compaign on both sides; the Portugueze not being much stronger. The Duke of Orleans fate down before Tortofa in June, and though Leak diffipated a fleet of tartanes, fent from France to supply his army, and took about fifty of them, which was a very feafonable relief to those in Barcelona; upon which it was thought the fiege of Tortofa would be raifed, yet it was carried on till the

last of June, and then the garrison capitulated. Leak failed to Italy, and brought from thence, Supplies both the new Queen of Spain, and 8000 men with fent from him: But by reason of the slowness of the Court Spain. of Vienna, these came too late, to raise the siege of Tortofa: The fnow lay fo long on the Alps, that the Duke of Savoy did not begin the campaign till July, then he came into Savoy, of which he possessed himself without any opposition: The whole country was under a consternation as far as Lyons.

On the upper Rhine, the two Electors continued looking on one another, without venturing on any action; but the great scene was laid in Flanders: The French Princes came to Mons, and there they opened the campaign, and advanced to Soignies, with an army of an hundred thousand men: The Duke of Marlborough lay between Enghien and Hall, with his army, which was about eighty thousand.

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1708. and Bruges taken by

The French had their usual practices on foot in feveral towns in those parts: A conspiracy, to deliver Antwerp to them, was discovered and prevented: The truth was, the Dutch were fevere the French mafters and the Flandrians could not bear it: Though the French had laid heavier taxes on them. yet they used them better in all other respects: Their bigotry, being wrought on by their priests, d'isposed them to change masters, so these practices fucceeded better in Ghendt and Bruges. The Duke of Marlborough resolved, not to weaken his army by many garrifons: So he put none at all in Bruges, and a very weak one in the citadel of Ghendt, reckoning that there was no danger, as long as he lay between those places and the French army. The two armies lay, about a month, looking on one another, shifting their camps a little, but keeping still in safe ground, so that there was no action all the while; but near the end of June fome bodies drawn out of the garrifons about Ypres, came and possessed themselves of Bruges, without any opposition: And the Garrison in Ghendt, was too weak to make any refistance, so they capitulated and marched out: Upon this, the whole French army marched towards those places, hoping to have carried Oudenarde in their way.

The batdenarde.

The Duke of Marlborough followed fo quick, tle of Ou that they drew off from Oudenarde, as he advanced: In one day, which was the last of June, he made a march of five leagues, passed the Scheld without any opposition, came up to the French army, and engaged them in the afternoon: They had the advantage both of numbers and of ground; yet our men beat them from every post, and in an action, that lasted fix hours, we had such an entire advantage, that nothing but the darkness of the night, and weariness of our men, faved the French army from being totally ruined. There were about 5000 killed, and about 8000 made prisoners (of whom 1000 were officers) and about 6000 more deferted;

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ferted; fo that the French lost at least 20000 men, 1708. and retired in great hafte, and in greater confusion to Ghendt. On the confederates fide, there was about 1000 killed, and 2000 wounded: But our army was fo wearied, with a long march, and a long action, that they were not in a condition to purfue with that hafte, that was to be defired: Otherwise great advantages might have been made of this victory. The French posted themselves on the great canal, that runs from Ghendt to Bruges: Prince Eugene's army, of about 30000 men, was now very near the great army, and joined it in a few days after this action: But he himself was come up before them, and had a noble share in the victory; which, from the neighbourhood of that place, came to be called the battle of Oudenarde.

The French had recovered themselves out of their first consternation, during that time, which was necessary to give our army some rest and refreshment: And they were so well posted, that it was not thought sit to attack them. Great detachments were sent, as far as to Arras, to put all the French countries under contribution; which struck such a terror every where, that it went as far as to Paris: Our army could not block up the enemy's on all sides, the communication with Dunkirk by Newport was still open; and the French army was supplied from thence: They made an invasion into the Dutch Flanders: They had no great cannon, so they could take no place; but they destroyed the country with their usual

barbarity.

In conclusion, the Duke of Marlborough, in Liste beconcert with Prince Eugene and the States, resolved seged. to besiege Liste, the capital town of the French Flanders: It was a great, a rich, and a well fortisted place; with a very strong citadel: It had been the first conquest the French King had made, and it was become, next to Paris, the chief town of his dominions; Marshal Boussers threw himself into it,

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1708. with some of the best of the French Troops: The garrison was at least 12000 strong, some called it 14000. Prince Eugene undertook the conduct of the fiege, with about 30000 men, and the Duke of Marlborough, with the rest of the army, lay on the Scheld at Pont-Esperies, to keep the communication open with Bruffels: Some time was loft, before the great artillery could be brought up: It lay at Sass van Ghendt, to have been sent up the Lys, but now it was to be carried about by Antwerp to Bruffels, and from thence by land-carriages to the camp, which was a long and a flow work: In that, fome weeks were loft, so that it was near the end of August, before the siege was begun. The engineers promifed the States, to take the place within a fortnight, after the trenches were opened; but the fequel shewed, that they reckoned wrong: There were some disputes among them: Errors were committed by those, who were in greatest credit, who thought the way of fapp the shortest, as well as the furest method: Yet after some time loft in pursuing this way, they returned to the ordinary method. Boufflers made a brave and a long defence: The Duke of Burgundy came with his whole army fo near ours, that it feemed he defigned to venture another battle, rather than lese so important a place: And the Duke of Marlborough was, for some days, in a posture to receive him: But when he faw, that his whole intention, in coming fo near him, was only to oblige him to be ready for an action, without coming to any; and so to draw off a great part of those bodies, that carried on the fiege, leaving only as many as were necessary, to maintain the ground they had gained, he drew a line before his army, thought only of carrying on the fiege; for while he looked for an engagement, no progress was made in that.

French

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drew lines After some days, the French drew off, and fell the Scheld to making lines all along the Scheld, but chiefly about S:

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about Oudenarde; that they might cut off the 1708. communication between Bruffels and our camp, and so separate our army, from all intercourse with Holland: The lines were about feventy miles long, and in fome places near Oudenarde, they looked liker the ramparts of a fortified place, than ordinary lines; on these they laid cannon and posted the greatest part of their army upon them, so that they did effectually Itop all communication by the Scheld. Upon which, the States ordered all that was necesfary, both for the army and for the fiege, to be fent to Oftend: And if the French had begun their deligns, with the intercepting this way of conveyance, the fiege must have been raised, for want of

ammunition to carry it on. About this time, 6000 men were embarked at Portsmouth, in order to be fent over to Portugal: But they were ordered to lie for some time on the coast of France, all along from Bulloign to Dieppe, in order to force a diversion, we hoping, that this would oblige the French to draw some of their troops out of Flanders, for the defence of their coast: This had no great effect, and the appearance that the French made, gave our men such apprehensions of their strength, that though they once begun to land their men, yet they soon returned back to their ships: But as their behaviour was not a little censured, so the state of the war in Flanders, made it necessary to have a greater force at Ostend. They were, upon this, ordered to come and land A new there: Earl, who commanded them, came out and supply took a post at Leffingen, that lay on the canal, Ostend. which went from Newport to Bruges, to secure the passage of a great convoy of 800 waggons, that were to be carried from Oftend to the army: If that had been intercepted, the fiege must have been raised: For the Duke of Marlborough had sent some ammunition from his army, to carry on the liege, and he could spare no more: He began to despair of the undertaking, and so prepared his triends

1708.

friends to look for the raising the siege, being in great apprehensions concerning this convoy; upon which, the whole fuccess of this enterprize depend. ed: He fent Webb, with a Body of 6000 men to fecure the convoy.

A defeat French werethree to one.

The French, who understood well of what confegiven the quence this convoy was, fent a body of 20000 men, with forty pieces of cannon, to intercept it: when they Webb, feeing the inequality between his strength and the enemy's, put his men into the best disposition he could. There lay coppices, on both fides of the place, where he posted himself; he lined these well, and stood still for some hours, while the enemy cannonaded him, he having no cannon to return upon them: His men lay flat on the ground, till that was over. But when the French advanced, our men fired upon them, both in front and from the coppices, with that fury, and with fuch fuccess, that they began to run; and though their officers did all that was possible to make them stand, they could not prevail: So, after they had lost about 6000 men, they marched back to Bruges: Webb durft not leave the advantageous ground he was in, to purfue them, being fo much inferior in number. So unequal an action, and fo shameful a flight, with fo great loss, was looked on as the most extraordinary thing, that had happened during the whole war: And it encouraged the one fide, as much as it dispirited the other. Many reproaches passed on this occasion, between the French and the Spaniards; the latter, who had fuffered the most, blaming the former for abandoning them: This, which is the ordinary confequence of all great miffortunes, was not foon quieted.

Convoys from Oflend came fale to the camp.

abhorit

The convoy arriving fate in the camp, put new life in our army: Some other convoys came afterwards, and were brought fafe: For the Duke of Marlborough moved, with his whole army, to fecure their motions, nor did the enemy think fit to give them any disturbance, for some time. By the

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1708.

means of these supplies, the siege was carried on so effectually, that by the end of October the town capitulated: Mareschal Boufflers retiring into the citadel, with 6000 men. The French faw of what importance, the communication by Oftend was to our army, which was chiefly maintained by the body, that was posted at Lestingen; so they attacked that, with a very great force: The place was weak of itself, but all about was put under water, so it might have made a longer relistance: It was too eafily yielded up by those within it, who were made prisoners of war. Thus the communication Leffingen with Oltend was cut off, and upon that the French taken by flattered themselves, with the hopes of starving our French. army; having thus leparated it, from all communication with Holland: infomuch that it was reported, the Duke of Vendome talked of having our whole forces delivered into his hands, as priloners of war, for want of bread, and other necessaries. It is true, the Duke of Marlborough fent out great bodies both into the French Flanders, and into the Artois, who brought in great stores of provisions: But that could not last long.

The French army lay all along the Scheld, but had fent a great detachment to cover the Artois: All this while there was a great mifunderstanding Misunderbetween the Duke of Burgundy and the Duke of flanding Vendome: The latter took so much upon him, that between the other officers complained of his neglecting the Dukes them; to they made their court to the Duke of Burgundy, and laid the blame of all his miscarriages on Vendome. Vendome. He kept close to the orders he had from Verfailles, where the accounts he gave, and the advices he offered, were more confidered, than those that were fent by the Duke of Burgundy: This was very uneasy to him, who was impatient of contradiction, and longed to be in action, though he did not shew the forwardness, in exposing his own perion, that was expected: he feemed very devout, even to bigotry; but by the accounts we had from

France,

1708. France, it did appear, that his conduct during the campaign, gave no great hopes or prospect from him, when all things should come into his hands: Chamillard was often fent from court to foften him. and to reconcile him to the Duke of Vendome, but with no effect.

Affairs on Rhine.

the upper on the Upper Rhine: The true reason was believed. that he might not pretend to continue in the chief command in Flanders: He was put in hopes, of being furnished with an army fo strong, as to be able to break through into Bavaria. The Elector of Hanover did again undertake the command of the army of the empire: Both armies were weak; but they were fo equally weak, that they were not able to undertake any thing on either fide: So after fome months, in which there was no confiderable action; the forces on both fides went into winter The Elec- quarters. Then the court of France, believing that tor of Ba- the Elector of Bavaria was so much beloved in Brusvaria fent fels, that he had a great party in the town, ready to declare for him, ordered an army of 14000 men, with a good train of artillery, to be brought together, and with that body he was fent to attack Bruffels; in which, there was a garrifon of 6000 men. He lay before the town five days, in two of these he attacked it with great fury: He was once master of

The Elector of Bavaria had been fent to command

TheDuke of Marlborough paffed the Scheld and the lines.

Bruffels.

The Duke of Marlborough hearing of this, made a fudden motion towards the Scheld: But to deceive the enemy, it was given out, that he defigned to march directly towards Ghendt, and this was believed by his whole army, and it was probably carried to the enemy; for they seemed to have no notice nor apprehension of his design on the Scheld: He advanced towards it in the night, and marched with the foot very quick, leaving the horse to come up with the artillery: The lines were lo

the counterscarp, but he was soon beaten out of it;

and though he repeated his attacks very often, he

was repulsed in them all.

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re io ong, frong, that it was expected, that in the breaking 1708. through them, there must have been a very hot action: Some of the General Officers told me, that they reckoned it would have cost them at least 10000 men; but to their great surprize, as soon as they passed the river, the French ran away, without offering to make the least resistance; and they had drawn off their cannon the day before. Our men were very weary with the night's march, fo they could not purfue; for the horse were not come up, nor did the garrison of Oudenarde fally out; yet they took a thousand prisoners. Whether the notice of the feint, that the Duke of Marlborough gave out of his defign on Ghendt, occasioned the French drawing off their cannon, and their being fo fecure, that they feemed to have no apprehensions of his true defigns, was not yet certainly known: But the abandoning those lines, on which they had been working for many weeks, was a furprize to all the world: Their Councils feemed to be weak, and the execution of them was worfe: So that they, who were fo long the terror, were now become the fcorn of the world.

The main body of their army retired to Valen- The Elecciennes, great detachments were fent to Ghendt and tor of Ba-Bruges: As foon as the Elector of Bavaria had the drew off news of this unlooked for reverse of their affairs, he from drew off from Bruffels with fuch precipitation, that Bruffels. he left his heavy cannon and baggage, with his wounded men, behind him: So this defign, in which 3000 men were lost, came soon to an end. Those who thought of prefages, looked on our passing the lines on the fame day, in which the Parliament of England was opened, as a happy one. Prince Eugene had marched, with the greatest part of the force that lay before Lisle (leaving only what was necessary to keep the town, and to carry on the lapp against the citadel) to have a share in the action, that was expected in forcing the lines: But he came quickly back, when he faw there was no need

1708.

del of Lifle capitulat-

of him, and that the communication with Bruffels was opened.

The fiege of the citadel was carried on in a flow but fure method: And when the befiegers had lodged themselves in the second counterscarp, and had raifed all their batteries, fo that they were ready to attack the place, in a formidable manner; Maref. chal Boufflers thought fit to prevent that, by a capitulation. It was now near the end of November: so he had the better terms granted him: For it was refolved, as late as it was in the year, to reduce Ghendt and Bruges, before this long campaign should be concluded: He marched out with 5000 men, fo that the fiege had cost those within, as many lives, as it did the besiegers, which were near 8000.

Reflections that passed on

This was a great conquest; the noblest, the richeft, and the strongest town in those provinces, was thus reduced: And the most regular citadelin Europe, fortified and furnished at a vast expence, was taken without firing one cannon against it. The garrison was obliged to restore to the inhabitants, all that had been carried into the citadel, and to make good all the damages, that had been done the town, by the demolishing of houses, while they were preparing themselves for the siege, All the feveral methods the French had used, to give a diversion, had proved ineffectual: But that, in which the observers of providence rejoice most, was the fignal character of a particular bleffing on this fiege: It was all the whole time a rainy feafon, all Europe over, and in all the neighbouring places; yet during the fiege of the town, it was dry and fair about it: And on those days of capitulation, in which time was allowed for the garifon to march into the citadel, it rained; but as foon as these were elapsed, so that they were at liberty to besiege the citadel, fair weather returned, and continued till it was taken. THE WALL STREET, THE WALL WAS ALL

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From Lise, the army marched to invest Ghendt, 1708. though it was late in the year; for it was not done before December: The French boafted much of Ghendt their strength, and they had, by some new works, and Bruges retaken. made a show of defigning an obstinate refistance. They stood it out, till the trenches were far advanced, and the batteries were finished, so that the whole train of artillery was mounted: When all was ready to fire on the town, the governor, to fave both that and his garrison, thought fit to capitulate: He had an honourable capitulation, and a general amnesty was granted to the town, with a new confirmation of all their privileges. The Burghers did not deserve so good usage; but it was thought fit, to try how far gentle treatment could prevail on them, and overcome their perverseness: And indeed it may be thought, that they had fuffered fo much by their treachery, that they were fufficiently punished for it: Ghendt was delivered to the Duke of Marlborough on the last of December N. S. fo gloriously was both the year and the campaign finished at once: For the garrison, that lay at Bruges, and in the forts about it, withdrew without staying for a summons. These being evacuated, the army was fent into winterquarters.

It had not been possible to have kept them in A very the field much longer; for within two or three hard win. days after, there was a great fall of snow, and that was followed by a most violent frost, which continued the longest of any in the memory of man: And though there were short intervals, of a few days of thaw, we had four returns of an extreme frost, the whole lasting about three months. Many died in feveral parts, by the extremity of the cold, it was scarce possible to keep the soldiers alive, even in their quarters: So that they must have perished, if they had not broke up the campaign before this hard feafon. This coming on fo quick, after all that was to be done abroad was effectuated, VOL. IV. R ·gave

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1708.

gave new occasions to those, who made their remarks on providence, to observe the very great blessings of this conjuncture, wherein every thing that was designed, was happily ended just at the critical time, that it was become necessary to conclude the campaign: And indeed the concurrence of those happy events, that had followed us all this year, from the Pretender's first setting out from Dunkirk, to the conclusion of it, was so signal, that it made great impressions on many of the chief officers, which some owned to my self; though they were the persons, from whom I expected it least.

Sardinia and Minorca reduced.

The campaign in Spain was more equally ballanced: The Duke of Orleans took Tortofa; Denia was also forced to capitulate, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. But these losses by land, were well made up by the fuccesses of our fleet: Sardinia was reduced, after a very feeble and fhort struggle: The plenty of the island made the conquest the more considerable at that time, for in Catalonia they were much straitened for want of provisions, which were now supplied from Sardinia. Towards the end of the campaign, the fleet, with a thousand land-men on board, came before Minorca, and in a few days made themselves masters of that island, and of those forts that commanded Port Mahon, the only valuable thing in that island: All was carried after a very faint relistance, the garrisons shewing either great cowardice, or great inclinations to King Charles. By this, our fleet had got a fafe port, to lie in and refit, and to retire into on all occasions; for till then we had no place nearer than Lifbon: This was fuch an advantage to us, as made a great impression on all the Princes and States in Italy.

The Pore At this time the Pope began to threaten the threatens Emperor with ecclesiastical censures, and a war, the Emperor with for possessing himself of Commachio, and for perfectives taking quarters in the papal territories: He levied and a war, troops, and went often to review them, not without

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the affectation of shewing himself a general, as if he 1708. had been again to draw the fword, as St. Peter did: He opened Sixtus the fifth's Treasure, and took out of it 500,000 Crowns for this fervice: Many were afraid, that this war should have brought the Emperor's affairs into a new entanglement; for the court of France laid hold of this rupture, and to inflame it, fent Mareschal Tesse to Rome, to encourage the Pope, with great affurances of support. He was also ordered to try, if the great Duke, and the republicks of Venice and Genoa, could be engaged in an alliance against

the Imperialists.

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The Emperor bore all the Pope's threats with The Duke great patience, till the Duke of Savoy ended the of Savoy campaign: That Duke, at the first opening of it, les and Femarched into Savoy, from whence it was thought nestrella. his deligns were upon Dauphiny. Villars was lent against him, to defend that frontier; though he did all he could to decline that command: He drew all his forces together to cover Dauphiny; and by these motions, the passage into the Alps was now open: So the Duke of Savoy secured that, and then marched back to beliege first Exilles, and then Fenestrella, two places trong by their lituation, from whence excursions tould have been made into Piedmont; fo that in cale of any misfortune, in that Duke's affairs, they would have been very uneafy neighbours to him: He took them both. The greatest difficulty in thole lieges, was from the impracticableness of the ground, which drew them out into fuch a length, that the fnow began to fall, by the time both were taken. By this means the Alps were cleared, and Dauphiny was now open to him: He was also mafter of the valley of Pragelas, and all things were ready, for a greater progress in another campaign.

The Emperor's troops, that were commanded by him, were, at the end of the feafon, ordered to march into the Pope's territories; and were

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1708. joined by some more troops, drawn out of the Milaneze, and the Mantuan. The Pope's troops began the war in a very barbarous manner; for while they were in a fort of a ceffation, they furprized a body of the Imperialists, and without mercy put them all to the fword: But as the imperial army advanced, the Papalins, or, as the Italians in derifion called them, the Papagallians, fled every where before them, even when they were three to one. As they came on, the Pope's territories and places were all cast open to them: Bologna, the most important, and the richest of them all, capitulated; and received them without the least resistance. The people of Rome were uneasy at the Pope's proceedings, and at the apprehensions of a new fack from a German army: They shewed this fo openly, that tumults there were much dreaded, and many Cardinals declared openly against this war. The Emperor fent a Minister to Rome, to fee if matters could be accommodated: But the terms proposed seemed to be of hard digestion, for the Pope was required to acknowledge King Charles, and in every particular to comply with the Emperor's demands.

The Pope was amazed at his ill fuccess, and at is obliged those high terms; but there was no remedy left: The ill state of affairs in France, was now so vi-Emperor. fible, that no regard was had to the great promifes, which Mareschal Tesse was making, nor was there any hopes of drawing the Princes and States of Italy, into an alliance for his defence. In conclusion, the Pope, after he had delayed yielding to the Emperor's demands long enough, to give the Imperialifts time to eat up his country, at last dubmitted to every thing; yet he delayed acknowledging King Charles for some months, though he then promised to do it; upon which the Emperor drew his troops out of his territories. The Pope knowledge over the manner of acknowledging King ed King Charles, to a congregation of Cardinals: But they

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had no mind to take the load of this upon themfelves, which would draw an exclusion upon them from France, in every conclave; they left it to the Pope, and he affected delays: So that it was not done, till the end of the following year.

The affairs in Hungray continued in the fame ill Affairs in state, in which they had been for some years: The Hungary. Emperor did not grant the demands of the diet, that he had called; nor did he redress their grievances, and he had not a force strong enough to reduce the malecontents: So that his council could not fall on methods, either to satisfy, or to subdue them.

Poland continued still to be a scene of war and And in milery; to their other calamities, they had the ad- Poland. dition of a plague, which laid some of their great towns walte: The party, formed against Stanislaus, continued still to oppose him, though they had no King to head them: The King of Sweden's warlike humour possessed him to such a degree, that he resolved to march into Muscovy. The Czar tried, how far fubmiffions and interceffions could folten him; but he was inflexible: He marched through the Ukrain, but made no great progress: The whole Mulcovite force fell on one of his generals, that had about him only a part of his army, and gave him a total defeat, most of his horse being cut off. After that, we were, for many months, without any certain news from those parts: Both fides pretended, they had great advantages; and as Stanislaus's interests carried him to let out and magnify the Swedish success, so the party that opposed him, studied as much to raise the credit of the Muscovites: So that it was not yet easy to know, what to believe further, than that there had been no decifive action, throughout the whole year; nor was there any during the following winter.

Our affairs at sea were less unfortunate this year, Affairs at than they had been formerly: The merchants were so, better served with convoys, and we made no con-

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1708. fiderable loffes. A squadron that was sent to the bay of Mexico, met with the galleons, and engaged them: If all their Captains had done their duty, they had been all taken: Some few fought well, The Admiral of the galleons, which carried a great treafure, was funk; the Vice-Admiral was taken, and the Rear-Admiral run himself ashore near Cartagena, the rest got away. The enemy lost a great deal by this action, though we did not gain fo much as we might have done, if all our Captains had been brave and diligent. Another squadron carried over the Queen of Portugal, which was performed with great magnificence; she had a quick and easy passage. This did in some measure compensate to that Crown for our failing them, in not fending over the supplies that we had stipulated; it was a particular happiness, that the Spaniards were so weak, as not to be able to take advantage of the naked and unguarded state, in which the Portugueze were at this time.

Prince. George's death.

In the end of October, George Prince of Denmark died, in the fifty-fixth year of his age, after he had been twenty-five years and fome months married to the Queen: He was afthmatical, which grew on him with his years; for fome time he was confidered as a dying man, but the last year of his life, he feemed to be recovered, to a better state of health. The Queen had been, during the whole course of her marriage, an extraordinary tender and affectionate wife: And in all his illness, which lasted fome years, she would never leave his bed; but fate up, fometimes half the night in the bed by him, with fuch care and concern, that she was looked on very defervedly, as a pattern in this respect.

And character.

This Prince had shewed himself brave in war, both in Denmark and in Ireland: His temper was mild and gentle: He had made a good progress in mathematicks: He had travelled through France, Italy, and Germany, and knew much more, than he could well express; for he spoke acquired lan-

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guages ill and ungracefully. He was free from all 1708. vice: He meddled little in business, even after the Queen's accession to the Crown: He was so gained to the tories, by the act which they carried in his favour, that he was much in their interest: He was unhappily prevailed with, to take on him the post of High-Admiral, of which he understood little; but was fatally led by those, who had credit with him, who had not all of them his good qualities, but had both an ill temper and bad principles: His being bred to the lea, gained him some credit in those matters. In the conduct of our affairs, as great errors were committed, fo great misfortunes had followed on them: All these were imputed to the Prince's ealiness, and to his favourite's ill management and bad defigns. This drew a very heavy load on the Prince, and made his death to be the less lamented: The Queen was not only decently, but deeply affected with it.

The Earl of Pembroke was now advanced to the A new polt of High-Admiral; which he entered on with ministry. great uneafiness, and a just apprehension, of the difficulty of maintaining it well, in a time of war: He was at that time both Lord President of the Council, and Lord Lieutenant of Ireland. Earl of Wharton had the government of Ireland, and the Lord Somers was made Lord Prefident of the Council: The great capacity and inflexible integrity of this Lord, would have made his promotion to this post very acceptable to the whigs, at any juncture, but it was most particularly so at this time; for it was expected that propositions for a general peace would be quickly made; and fo they reckoned, that the management of that, upon which, not only the fafety of the nation, but of all Europe depended, was in fure hands, when he was fet at the head of the councils, upon whom, neither ill practices nor false colours were like to make any impression. Thus the minds of all those, who were truly zealous for the present constitution, were much quieted by this promo-

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tion; though their jealousies had a deep root, and were not eafily removed.

A new Parliament opened.

The Parliament was opened in the middle of November, with great advantage; for the prefent Ministry was now wholly such, that it gave an entire content, to all who wished well to our affairs: And the great fuccesses abroad, filenced those who were otherwise disposed to find fault, and to complain. The Queen did not think it decent for her to come to Parliament, during this whole fession: So it was managed by a commission representing her person. Sir Richard Onslow was chosen Speaker, without the least opposition: He was a worthy man, entirely zealous for the government; he was very acceptable to the whigs, and the tories felt that they had so little strength in this Parliament, that they resolved to lie filent, and to wait for such advantages, as the circumstances of affairs might give them. In the House of Commons, the supplies that were demanded, were granted very unanimously, not only for maintaining the force then on foot, but for an augmentation of 10000 more: This was thought necessary to press the war with more force, as the furest way to bring on a speedy peace: The States agreed to the like augmentation on their fide. The French, according to their usual vanity, gave out, that they had great designs in view for the next campaign: And it was confidently spread about by the Jacobites, that a new invafion was deligned, both on Scotland and on Ireland. At the end of the campaign, Prince Lugene went to the court of Vienna, which obliged the Duke of Marlborough to flay on the other fide, till he returned. Things went on in both Houses, according to the directions given at court, for the court being now joined with the whigs, they had a clear majority in every thing: All elections were judged in favour of whigs and courtiers, but with fo much partiality, that those, who had formerly made loud complaints of the injustice of the tories, in determining electi-2 000

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ons, when they were a majority, were not fo much as out of countenance, when they were reproached for the same thing: They pretended they were in a flate of war with the tories, so that it was reasonable to retaliate this to them, on the account of their former proceedings: But this did not fatisfy iust and upright men, who would not do to others, that which they had complained of, when it was done to them, or to their friends. The House of Commons voted a supply of seven millions, for the fervice of the enfuing year; the land-tax, and the duty on malt, were readily agreed to: But it took fome time to find funds for the rest, that they had

A petition, of a new nature, was brought before the Lords, with relation to the election of the Peers from Scotland: There was a return made in due Concernform, but a petition was laid before the House in ing the the name of four Lords, who pretended that they elections ought to have been returned: The Duke of Queenf- of the bury had been created a Duke of Great Britain, by Peers of the title of Duke of Dover, yet he thought he had still a right to vote as a Peer of Scotland: He had likewife a proxy, fo that two votes depended on this point, whether the Scotch Peerage did fink into the Peerage of Great Britain. Some Lords, who were prisoners in the castle of Edinburgh, on suspicion, as favouring the Pretender, had fent for the Sheriff of Lothian to the castle, and had taken the oaths before him; and upon that, were reckoned to be qualified to vote or make a proxy; now it was pretended, that the caltle of Edinburgh was a conftabulatory, and was out of the Sheriff's jurisdiction; and that therefore, he could not legally tender them the oaths: Some proxies were figned, without jubicribing witnesses, a form necessary by their law: Other exceptions were also taken, from some rules of the law of Scotland, which had not been oblerved. The clerks being also complained of, they

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were fent for, and were ordered to bring up with them all instruments or documents relating to the election: When they came up, and every thing was laid before the House of Lords, the whole matter was long and well debated.

A Scotch Peer created a Peer of Great Britain was to have no vote there.

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As to the Duke of Queensbury's voting among the Scotch Lords, it was faid, that if a Peer of Scotland, being made a Peer of Great Britain, did still retain his interest in electing the sixteen from Scotland, this would create a great inequality among Peers; fome having a vote by representa-tion, as well as in person: The precedent was mischievous, since by the creating some of the chief families in Scotland, Peers of Great Britain, they would be able to carry the whole election of the fixteen, as they pleased. It was objected, that by a clause in the act passed since the union, the Peers of England (who were likewise Peers of Scotland) had a right to vote, in the election of Scotland, ftill referved to them, so there seemed to be a parity in this case with that: But it was answered, that a Peer of England and a Peer of Scotland held their dignity under two different Crowns, and by two different Great Seals: But Great Britain, including Scotland as well as England, the Scotch Peerage must now merge in that of Great Britain: Besides, that there were but five, who were Peers of both kingdoms, before the Union; so that, as it might be reasonable to make provision for them, so was it of no great consequence; but if this precedent were allowed, it might go much further, and have very ill consequences. Upon a division of the House, the matter was determined against the Duke of Queensbury.

Other exceptions were determined.

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A great deal was faid both at the bar by lawyers, and in the debate in the House, upon the point of jurisdiction, and of the exemption of a constabulatory: It was faid, that the Sheriffs court ought to be, as all courts were, open and free; and fo could not be held within a castle or prison: But no express deci-

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fion had ever been made in this matter. The prifoners had taken the oaths, which was the chief intent of the law, in the best manner they could; so that it feemed not reasonable to cut them off from the main privilege of peerage, that was referved to them, because they could not go abroad to the Sheriffs court: After a long debate, it was carried, that the oaths were duly tendred to them. Some other exceptions were proved and admitted, the returns of some, certifying that they had taken the oaths, were not fealed, and some had signed these, without subscribing witnesses: other exceptions were offered from provisions, the law of Scotland had made, with relation to bonds and other deeds, which had not been observed in making of proxies: But the House of Lords did not think these were of that importance, as to vacate the proxies on that account. So, after a full hearing, and a debate that lasted many days, there was but one of the Peers, that was returned, who was found not duly elected, and only one of the petitioning Lords was brought into the House; the Marquis of Annandale was received, and the Marquess of Lothian was fet aside.

The Scotch Members in both Houses were divid- A faction ed into factions: The Duke of Queensbury had among the his party, still depending on him: He was in fuch Scots. credit with the Lord Treasurer and the Queen, that all the posts in Scotland were given to persons recommended by him: The chief Ministers at court feemed to have laid it down for a maxim, not to be departed from, to look carefully to elections in Scotland; that the members returned from thence, might be in an entire dependence on them, and be either whigs or tories, as they should shift sides. The Duke of Queensbury was made third Secretary of State; he had no foreign province affigned him, but Scotland was left to his management: The Dukes of Hamilton, Montrols, and Roxburgh, had let themselves in an opposition to his power, and had carried many elections against him: The

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Lord Somers and Sunderland supported them, but could not prevail with the Lord Treasurer, to bring them into an equal share of the administration; this had almost occasioned a breach; for the whigs, though they went on in a conjunction with the Lord Treasurer, yet continued still to be jealous of

An act concerning trials of treasons in Scotland.

Another act was brought in and paffed in this fession, with relation to Scotland, which gave occasion to great and long debates; what gave rise to it was this: Upon the attempt made by the Pretender, many of the nobility and gentry of Scotland, who had all along adhered to that interest, were fecured; and after the fleet was got back to Dunkirk, and the danger was over, they were ordered to be brought up prisoners to London; when they came, there was no evidence at all against them, so they were dismissed, and sent back to Scotland. No exceptions could be taken to the fecuring them, while there was danger: But fince nothing belides prefumptions lay against them, the bringing them up to London, at such a charge, and under fuch a difgrace, was much cenfured, as an unreasonable and an unjust severity; and was made use of, to give that nation a further aversion to the union. That whole matter was managed by the Scotch Lords then in the ministry, by which, they both revenged themselves on some of their enemies, and made a shew of zeal for the government; though fuch asedid not believe them fincere in these professions, thought it was done on defign to exalperate the Scots the more, and so to dispose them to wish for another invasion. The whig Ministry in England disowned all these proceedings, and used the Scots prisoners so well, that they went down much inclined to concur with them: But the Lord Godolphin fatally adhered to the Scotch Minifters, and supported them, by which, the advantage that might have been made from these severe proceedings was loft; but the chief occasion given, but

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to the act concerning treasons in Scotland, was from 1709. a trial of some gentlemen of that kingdom, who had left their houses, when the Pretender was on the fea, and had gone about armed, and in fo fecret and fuspicious a manner, that it gave great cause of jealoufy: There was no clear evidence to convict them, but there were very strong, if not violent prefumptions against them: Some forms in the trial had not been observed, which the criminal court judged were necessary, and not to be dispensed with. But the Queen's advocate Sir James Stuart was of another mind: The court thought it was necessary by their laws, that the names of the witnesses should have been signified to the prisoners fifteen days before their trial: But the Queen's advocate had not complied with this, as to the chief witnesses; so the court could not hear their evidence: He did not upon that move for a delay, lo the trial went on, and the gentlemen were acquitted. Severe expostulations passed between the Queen's advocate and the court: They complained of one another to the Queen, and both sides justified their complaints in print. Upon this it appeared, that the laws in Scotland, concerning trials in cases of treason, were not fixed nor certain: So a bill was brought into the House of Commons, to settle that matter; but it was so much opposed by the Scotch Members, that it was dropt in the Committee: It was taken up and managed with more zeal by the Lords.

It consisted of three heads: All crimes, which were high-treason by the law of England (and these only) The heads were to be high-treason in Scotland: the manner of of the act. proceeding fettled in England was to be observed in Scotland; and the pains and forfeitures were to be the same in both nations. The Scotch Lords opposed every branch of this act: They moved, that all things that were high-treason by the law of England, might be enumerated in the act, for the information of the Scotch nation: Otherwise they must study the book of flatutes, to know when they were fafe, and when

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they were guilty. To this it was answered, that direction would be given to the judges, to publish an abstract of the laws of high-treason, which would be a fufficient information to the people of Scotland, in this matter: That nation would by this means be in a much fafer condition, than they were now; for the laws they had, were conceived in fuch general words, that the judges might put fuch con-Aructions on them, as should serve the ends of a bad court; but they would by this act be restrained in this matter for the future.

The forms of proceeding in Scotland.

The fecond head in this bill occasioned a much longer debate: It changed the whole method of proceedings in Scotland: The former way there was, the Queen's advocate figned a citation of the persons, setting forth the special matter of hightreason, of which they were accused; this was to be delivered to them, together with the names of the witnesses, fifteen days before the trial. When the jury was empannelled, no peremptory challenges were allowed; reasons were to be offered with every challenge, and if the court admitted them, they were to be proved immediately. Then the matter of the charge, which is there called the relevancy of the libel, was to be argued by lawyers, whether the matter, suppose it should be proved, did amount to high-treason or not; this was to be determined by a fentence of the court, called the Interloquitur: And the proof of the fact was not till then to be made: Of that the jury had the cognizance. Antiently the verdict went with the majority, the number being fifteen; but by a late act, the verdict was to be given, upon the agreement of two third parts of the jury: In the fentence, the law did not limit the Judges to a certain form, but they could aggravate the punishment, or moderate it, according to the circumstances of the case. All this method was to be fet aside: A grand jury was to find the bill, the Judges were only to regulate proceedings, and to declare what the law was, and the whole

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whole matter of the indictment was to be left entirely to the jury, who were to be twelve, and all to agree in their verdict.

In one particular, the forms in Scotland were much preferable to those in England; the depositions of the witnesses were taken indeed by word of mouth, but were writ out, and after that were signed by the witnesses; they were sent in to the jury; and these were made a part of the record. This was very flow and tedious, but the jury, by this means, was more certainly possessed of the evidence; and the matter was more clearly delivered down to posterity: whereas the records in England are very defective, and give no light to a historian, that peruses them, as I found when I wrote the History of the reformation.

The Scotch opposed this alteration of their way of proceeding; they faid, that neither the Judges, the advocates, nor the clerks would know how to manage a trial of treason: They insisted most on the having the names of the witnesses, to be given to the persons, some days before their trial: It seemed realonable, that a man should know who was to be brought to witness against him, that so he might examine his life, and fee what credit ought to be given to him: On the other hand it was faid, this would open a door to much practice, either upon the witnesses to corrupt them, or in subording other witnesses, to defame them. To this it was anfwered, that a guilty man knew what could be brought against him, and without such notice would take all the methods possible to defend himself: But provision ought to be made for innocent men, whole chief guilt might be a good estate, upon which a favourite might have an eye: And therefore such persons ought to be taken care of. This was atterwards to much foftened, that it was only defirtd, that the names of the witnesses, that had given evidence to the grand jury should, upon their finding the bill, be fignified to the prisoner, five days before his trial. Upon a division of the House on this

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this question, the votes were equal; so by the rule 1709. Of the treason.

of the House, that in such a case the negative preed u vails, it was loft. Upon the third head of the bill. twee forfeitures the debates grew still warmer: In Scotland many emer in cases of families were settled by long entails and perpetuities; fome fo it was faid, that fince, by one of the articles of ludg the union, all private rights were still preserved. no breach could be made on these settlements. I carried this farther: I thought it was neither just nor reasonable to set the children on begging, for their father's faults: The Romans, during their liberty, never thought of carrying punishments fo far: It was an invention, under the tyranny of the Emperors, who had a particular revenue called the Fife, and all forfeitures were claimed by them, from whence they were called confiscations: It was never the practice of free governments: Bologna flourished beyond any town in the Pope's dominions, because they made it an article of their capitulation with the Pope, that no confiscation should follow on any crime whatfoever. In Holland the confifcation was redeemable by fo very small a sum, as an hundred guilders: Many instances could be brought of profecutions, only to obtain the confilcation: But none of the Lords seconded me in this; it was acknowledged, that this was just and reasonable, and fit to be passed in good times, but since we were now exposed to so much danger from abroad, it did not feem advisable to abate the severity of the law: But clauses were agreed to, by which, upon marriages, settlements might be made in Scotland, as was practifed in England; for no estate is forfeited for the crime of him, who is only tenant for life. By this act also, tortures were condemned, and the Queen was empowered to grant commissions of Oyer and Terminer as in England, for trying treasons: The Scotch infifted on this, that the justiciary or the criminal court being preserved by an article of the union, this broke in upon that. It was answered, the criminal court was still to sit, in the times ziel z

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times regulated: But these commissions were grant- 1709. ed upon special occasions. In the intervals, between the terms, it might be necessary upon some emergency not to delay trials too long: But to give some content, it was provided by a clause, that a ludge of the criminal court should be always one of the Quorum, in these commissions: So the bill passed in the House of Lords, notwithstanding the opposition of all the Scotch Lords, with whom many of the tories concurred; they being disposed to oppose the court in every thing, and to make treason as little to be dreaded as possible.

The bill met with the same opposition in the Amend-House of Commons; yet it passed with two amend- ments to ments: By one, the names of the witnesses, that the act. had appeared before the grand jury, were ordered to be fent to the prisoner, ten days before his trial: The other was, that no estate in land was to be forfeited, upon a judgment of high-treason: This came up fully to the motion I had made. Both these amendments were looked on as such popular things, that it was not probable, that the House of Commons would recede from them: Upon that the whigs in the House of Lords did not think fit to oppole them, or to lose the bill: So it was moved to agree to these amendments, with this proviso, that they should not take place till after the death of the Pretender: It was faid, that fince he affumed the title of King of Great Britain, and had so lately attempted to invade us, it was not reasonable to lellen the punishment, and the dread of treason, as long as he lived. Others objected to this, that there would be still a Pretender after him, since so many persons stood in the lineal descent before the Flouse of Hanover; so that this proviso seemed to be, up. on the matter, the rejecting the amendment: but it was observed, that to pretend to the right of succeeding, was a different thing from assuming the title, and attempting an invasion. The amendment was received by the House of Lords with this pro-VOL. IV.

vifo; those who were against the whole bil!, did 1709. not agree to it. The House of Commons consented to the proviso, which the Lords had added to their amendment, with a farther addition, that it should not take place till three years after the house of Hanover should succeed to the crown.

It passed in both Houses.

This met with great opposition, it was considered as a diffinguishing character of those, who were for or against the present constitution, and the fuccession; the Scots still opposing it on the account of their formal laws: Both parties mustered up their strength, and many, who had gone into the country, were brought up on this occasion: So that the bill, with all the amendments and proviso's, was carried by a fmall majority; the Lords agreeing to this new amendment. The Scotch members in both Houses seemed to apprehend, that the bill would be very odious in their country; fo to maintain their interest at home, they, who were divided in every thing elfe, did agree in opposing this

grace.

An act of The court apprehended from the heat, with which the debates were managed, and the difficulty in carrying the bill through both Houses, that illdisposed men would endeavour to possess people with apprehensions of bad designs and severities, that would be fet on foot; so they resolved to have an act of grace immediately upon it: It was the first the Queen had fent, though she had then reigned above feven years: The Ministers, for their own fake, took care that it should be very full; it was indeed fuller than any former act of grace, all treafons committed before the figning the act, which was the 19th of April, were pardoned, those only excepted that were done upon the fea: By this, those who had imbarked with the Pretender were still at mercy. This act, according to form, was read once in both Houses, and with the usual compliments of thanks, and with that the fession ended. thi

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Other things of great importance passed during 1709. this festion: The House of Commons voted an enlargement of the Bank, almost to three millions, An enupon which, the books were opered to receive new of the subscriptions: and to the admiration of all Europe, Bank. is well as of our felves at home, the whole ium was subscribed in a few hours time: This shewed both the wealth of the nation, and the confidence that all people had in the government. By this fubscription, and by a further prolongation of the general mortgage of the revenue, they created good funds, for answering all the money, that they had voted in the beginning of the fession.

Our trade was now very high; and was carried Great on every where with advantage, but no where riches in more than at Lisbon: For the Portugueze were fo happy, in their dominions in America, that they discovered vast quantities of gold in their mines, and we were affured that they had brought home to Portugal, the former year, about four millions Sterling, of which they, at that time, stood in great need, for they had a very bad harvelt: But gold anlwers all things: They were supplied from England with corn, and we had in return a large share of their gold. An Assemble the bas motor

An act passed in this session, that was much defir- An act for ed, and had been often attempted, but had been laid a general aside in so many former Parliaments, that there was naturalization of fearce any hopes left to encourage a new attempt : all protef-It was for naturalizing all foreign Protestants, upon tants. their taking the oaths to the government, and their receiving the facrament in any protestant church. Those who were against the act, soon perceived that they could have no strength, if they should set themselves directly to oppose it; so they studied to limit strangers in the receiving the facrament to the way of the church of England. This probably would not have hindred many, who were otherwile disposed to come among us: For the much greater part of the French came into the way of our church.

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1709. But it was thought best to cast the door as wide open as possible, for encouraging of strangers: And therefore fince, upon their first coming over, some might chuse the way, to which they had been accustomed beyond sea, it seemed the more inviting method to admit of all who were in any protestant communion: This was carried in the House of Commons, with a great majority; but all those, who appeared for this large and comprehensive way, were reproached for their coldness and indifference in the concerns of the church: And in that I had a large share; as I spoke copiously for it, when it was brought up to the Lords: the Bishop of Chester fpoke as zealoufly against it, for he feemed resolved to diftinguish himself, as a zealot for that which was called high-church. The bill passed with very little opposition.

An addrefs to the Queen when a treaty of peace should be opened.

There was all this winter great talk of peace; which the miseries and necessity of France seemed to drive them to: This gave occasion to a motion, concerted among the whigs, and opened by the Lord Halifax, that an address should be made to the Queen, to conclude no peace with France, till they should disown the Pretender, and send him out of that kingdom, and till the protestant succession should be universally owned, and that a guaranty should be settled among the allies for securing it. None durst venture to oppose this, so it was easily agreed to, and fent down to the House of Commons, for their concurrence. They prefently agreed to it, but added to it, a matter of great importance, that the demolishing of Dunkirk should be likewise insisted on, before any peace were concluded: So both Houses carried this address to the Queen, who received and answered it very favourably. This was highly acceptable to the whole nation, and to all our allies. These were the most confiderable transactions of this session of Parliament, which was concluded on the 21st of April.

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The Convocation was fummoned, chosen, and 1709. returned as the Parliament was: But it was too revident, that the same ill temper, that had appeared in former Convocations, did still prevail, though was put not with fuch a majority: When the day came, in off by a which it was to be opened, a writ was fent from prorogathe Queen to the Archbishop ordering him to pro-tion. rogue the Convocation for fome months: And at the end of these, there came another writ, ordering a further prorogation: So the Convocation was not opened during this fession of Parliament; by this, a present stop was put to the factious temper of those, who studied to recommend themselves by embroiling the church.

It did not cure them; for they continued still by A faction libels and false stories to animate their party: And among the lo catching a thing is this turbulent spirit, when clergy of

once it prevails among clergymen, that the same ill temper began to ferment and spread it self among the clergy of Ireland; none of those disputes had ever been thought of in that church formerly, as they had no records nor minutes of former Convocations. The faction here in England found out proper instruments, to set the same humour on foot, during the Earl of Rochester's government, and, as was faid, by his directions: And it being once let a going, it went on by reason of the indolence of the fucceeding governors: So the clergy were making the fame bold claim there, that had raifed fuch disputes among us; and upon that, the party here published those pretentions of theirs, with their usual confidence, as founded on a clear possession and prescription: And drew an argument from that, to justify and support their own pretentions, though those in Ireland never dreamed of them, till they had the pattern and en-

couragement from hence. This was received by Anill temthe party with great triumph, into fuch indirect per among practices do mens ill defigns and animolities engage our clergy them: But though this whole matter was well fill kept

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detected and made appear, to their shame, who had built fo much upon it, yet parties are never out of countenance; but when one artifice fails. they will lay out for another. The fecret encouragement, with which they did most effectually animate their party, was, that the Queen's heart was with them: And that though the war, and the other circumstances of her affairs, obliged her at present to favour the moderate party, yet as soon as a peace brought on a better fettlement, they promifed themselves all favour at her hands. It was not certain, that they had then any ground for this, or that she herself, or any by her order, gave them these hopes; but this is certain, that many things might have been done to extinguish those hopes, which were not done: So that they feemed to be left to please themselves with those expectations, which kept still life in their party; and indeed it was but too visible, that the much greater part of the clergy were in a very ill temper, and under very bad influences; enemies to the toleration, and foured against the differences.

Negotiations for peace.

I now must relate the negotiations, that the French fet on foot for a peace. Soon after the battle of Ramellies, the Elector of Bavaria gave out hopes of a peace; and that the King of France would come to a treaty of partition; that Spain and the West-Indies should go to King Charles if the dominions of Italy were given to King Philip. They hoped that England and the States would agree to this, as less concerned in Italy: But they knew, the Court of Vienna would never hearken to it; for they valued the dominions in Italy, with the Islands near them, much more than all the rest of the Spanish Monarchy. But at the same time, that Lewis the XIVth was tempting us, with the hopes of Spain and the West-Indies; by a letter to the Pope, that King offered the dominions in Italy to King Charles. The Parliament had always declared, the ground of the war to be, the restoring

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the whole Spanish Monarchy to the House of Austria, (which indeed the States had never done) fo the Duke of Marlborough could not hearken to this: He convinced the States of the treacherous designs of the Court of France, in this offer, and it was not entertained.

The Court of Vienna was so alarmed at the inclinations, fome had expressed towards the entertaining this project, that this was believed to be the fecret motive of the treaty, the fucceeding winter, for evacuating the Milanefe, and of their perfitting to obstinately, the summer after, in their deligns upon Naples; for by this means they became masters of both. The French, being now reduced to great extremities, by their constant ill fuccess, and by the miseries of their people, resolved to try the States again; and when the Duke of Marlborough came over to England, Mr. Rouillé was tent to Holland, with general offers of peace, defiring them to propose what it was they infifted on: And he offered them as good a barrier for themselves as they could ask. The States, contrary to their expectation, resolved to adhere firmly to their confederates, and to enter into no separate treaty, but in conjunction with their allies: So, upon the Duke of Marborough's return, they, with their allies, began to prepare Preliminaries, to be first agreed to, before a general treaty should be opened: They had been fo well acquainted with the perfidious methods of the French court, when a treaty was once opened, to divide the allies, and to create jealoulies among them, and had felt fo fenlibly the ill effects of this, both at Nimeguen and Ryfwick, that they refolved to use all necessary precautions for the future; fo preliminaries were prepared. and the Dule of Marlborough came over hither, to concert them with the ministry at

In this fecond absence of his, Mr. de Torcy, the fecretary of State for foreign affairs, was sent to

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the Hague, the better to dispose the States to peace, by the influence of io great a Minister; no methods were left untried, both with the States in general, and with every man they spoke with in particular, to beget in them a full affurance of the King's fincere intentions for peace: But they knew the artifices of that court too well, to be foon decrived; fo they made no advances till the Duke of Marlborough came back, who carried over the Lord Viscount Townshead, to be conjunct Plenipotentiary with himself, reckoning the load too great to bear it wholly on himself. The choice was well made; for as Lord Townshend had great parts, had improved these by travelling, and was by much the most shining person of all our young nobility, and had, on many occasions, diffinguished himself very eminently; so he was a man of great integrity, and of good principles in all respects, free from all vice, and of an engaging conversation.

The foundation of the whole treaty was, the liminaries restoring of the whole Spanish monarchy to King agreed on. Charles, within two months: Torcy faid, the time was too short, and that perhaps it was not in the King of France's power to bring that about; for the Spaniards feemed refolved to flick to King Philip. It was, upon this, infifted on, that the King of France should be obliged to concur with the allies, to force it by all proper methods: But this was not farther explained, for the allies were well affured, that if it was fincerely intended by France, there would be no great difficulty in bringing it about. This therefore being laid down as the basis of the treaty, the other preliminaries related to the restoring all the places in the Netherlands, except Cambray and St. Omer; the demolishing or restoring of Dunkirk; the restoring of Strafbourg, Brifack, and Huningen to the empire; Newfoundland to England; and Savoy to that Duke, besides his continuing possessed of all, he then had in his hands; the acknowledging 3

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the King of Prussia's Royal dignity; and the elec- 1700. torate in the House of Brunswick; the sending the Pretender out of France, and the owning the fuccession to the Crown of England, as it was fettled by law. As all the great interests were provided for, by these preliminaries; so all other matters were referved to be confidered, when the treaty of Peace should be opened: A cessation of all hostilities was to begin, within two months, and to continue till all was concluded by a compleat treaty, and ratified; provided the Spanish Monarchy was then intirely restored. The French Plenipotentiaries feemed to be confounded at thefe demands. Torcy excepted to the leaving Exilles and Fenestrella in the Duke of Savoy's hands; for he faid, he had no instructions relating to them: But in conclusion, they seemed to submit to them. and Torcy at parting defired the ratifications might be returned with all possible haste, and promiled that the King of France's final answer should be fent, by the fourth of June; but spoke of their affairs as a man in despair: He faid, he did not know but he might find King Philip at Paris, before he got thither, and faid all that was possible, to affure them of the fincerity of the King of France, and to divert them from the thoughts of opening the campaign; but at the same time King Philip was getting his Son, the Prince of Afturias, to be acknowledged, by all the towns and bodies of Spain, as the heir of that monarchy.

Upon this outward appearance of agreeing to The King the preliminaries, all people looked upon the peace of France to be as good as made; and ratifications came ratifythem from all the courts of the Allies, but the King of France refused to agree to them: He pretended iome exceptions to the articles, relating to the Emperor, and the Duke of Savoy; but infifted chiefly on that, of not beginning the suspension of arms, till the Spanish monarchy should be all restored; he faid, that was not in his power to execute; he

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ordered his Minister afterwards to yield up all but this last; and by a third person, one Pettecum, it was offered, to put some more towns into the hands of the Allies, to be kept by them, till Spain was restored. It appeared by this, that the French had no other defign in all this negotiation, but to try if they could beget an ill understanding among the Allies, or, by the feeming great concessions, for the fecurity of the States, provoke the people of Holland against their magistrates, if they should earry on the war, when they feemed to be fafe; and they reckoned, if a suspension of arms could be once obtained, upon any other terms, than the restoring of Spain, then France would get out of the war, and the Allies must try, how they could conquer Spain. France had fo perfidiously broke all their treaties, during this King's reign, that it was a piece of inexcusable folly, to expect any other from them. In the peace of the Pyrenees, where the interest of France was not so deeply engaged, to preferve Portugal from falling under the yoke of Caltile, as it was now to preferve Spain in the hands of a grandson; after the King had sworn to give no affiftance to Portugal, yet, under the pretence of breaking fome bodies, he fuffered them to be entertained by the Portugueze Ambassador, and sent Schomberg to command that army; pretending he could not hinder one, that was a German by birth, to go and serve where he pleased: Under these pretences, he had broke his faith, where the confideration was not fo strong, as in the present case. Thus it was visible no faith, that King could give, was to be relied on, and that unless Spain was restored, all would prove a fatal delusion: Besides, it came afterwards to be known, that the places in Brabant and Hainault, commanded by the Elector of Bavaria, would not have been evacuated by him, unless he had orders for it from the King of Spain, under whom he governed in them; and that was not to be expected: So the easiness, with which ordered

the French ministers yielded to the preliminaries, 1709. was now understood to be an artifice, to slacken the zeal of the confederates, in advancing the campaign, as the least effect it would have: But in that, their hopes failed them, for there was no time lost, in

preparing to take the field.

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I do not mix, with the relation that I have given upon good authority, the uncertain reports we had of distractions in the court of France, where it was faid, that the Duke of Burgundy pressed the making a peace, as necessary to prevent the ruin of France, while the Dauphin pressed more vehemently the continuance of the war, and the supporting of the King of Spain: It was faid, that Madam Maintenon appeared less at court; Chamillard, who had most of her favour, was dismissed: But it is not certain, what influence that had on the publick councils; and the conduct of this whole negotiation shewed plainly, that there was nothing defigned in it, but to divide, or to deceive the confederates; and, if possible, to gain a separate peace for France; and then to let the Allies conquer Spain as they could. But the Allies kept firm to one another, and the treachery of the French appeared fo visible, even to the people in Holland, that all the hopes they had, of inflaming them against their magistrates, likewise failed. The people in France were much wrought on, by this pretended indignity offered to their monarch, to oblige him to force his grandion to abandon Spain; and even, here in England, there wanted not many, who faid it was a cruel hardship put on the French King, to force him into fuch an unnatural war: But if he was guilty of the injustice, of putting him in possession of that kingdom, it was but a reasonable piece of justice, to undo what he himself had done: And it was fo visible, that King Philip was maintained on that throne, by the councils and affiftance of France, that no doubt was made, but that, if the King of France had really defigned it, he

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1706. he could easily have obliged him to relinquish all

pretensions to that crown.

The war went on,

Thus the negotiations came foon to an end: without producing any ill effect among the Allies; and all the Ministers at the Hague made great acknowledgments to the pensioner Heinsius, and to the States, for the candor and firmness they had expressed on that occasion. The miseries of France were represented, from all parts, as extreme great; the prospect both for corn and wine was so low, that they faw no hope nor relief. They fent to all places for corn, to preserve their people, many of the ships that brought it to them, were taken by our men of war; but this did not touch the heart of their King, who feemed to have hardened himfelf, against the sense of the miseries of his people, Villars was fent to command the armies in Flanders, of whom the King of France faid, that he was never beaten; Harcourt was fent to command on the Rhine, and the Duke of Berwick in Dauphiny. This fummer passed over, without any considerable action in Spain: There was an engagement on the frontier of Portugal, in which the Portugueze behaved themselves very ill, and were beaten; but the Spaniards did not purfue the advantage they had by this action: For they, apprehending that our fleet might have a defign upon some part of their fouthern coast, were forced to draw their troops from the frontiers of Portugal, to defend their own coast; though we gave them no disturbance on that fide.

In Spain,

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The King of France, to carry on the show of a design for peace, withdrew his troops out of Spain, but at the same time took care, to encourage the Spanish grandees, to support his grandson: And fince it was visible, that either the Spaniards, or the Allies, were to be deceived by him, it was much more reasonable to believe that the Allies, and not the Spaniards, were to feel the effects of this fraudulent way of proceeding. The French General Befons,

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Before, who commanded in Arragon, had indeed 1709. orders not to venture on a battle, for that would have been too gross a thing, to be in any wife palliated; but he continued all this fummer commanding their armies. Nothing of any importance passed on the side of Dauphiny: The Emperor In Daucontinued still to refuse complying with the Duke Phiny. of Savoy's demands; fo he would not make the campaign in person, and his troops kept on the defensive. On the other hand, the French, as they faw they were to be feebly attacked, were too weak to do any thing more, than cover their own country. Little was expected on the Rhine; the Ger- In Germans were to weak, so ill furnished, and so ill paid, many, that it was not easy for the court of Vienna to prevail on the Elector of Brunswick to undertake the command of that army; yet he came at last: And upon his coming, the French, who had passed the Rhine, thought it was fafeft for them to repais that river, and to keep within their lines. The Elector fent Count Mercy, with a confiderable body, to pass the Rhine near Basil, and on design to break into Franche Comté; but a detached body of the French, lying in their way, there followed a very harp engagement; 2000 men were reckoned to be killed on each fide; but though the loss of men was reckoned equal, yet the defign miscarried, and the Germans were forced to repais the Rhine. The rest of the campaign went over there, without any action.

The chief scene was in Flanders; where the Duke And in of Marlborough trusting little to the shews of Flanders. peace, had every thing in readiness to open the campaign, as foon as he faw what might be expected from the court of France. The army was formed near Liste, and the French lay near Doway; the train of artillery was, by a feint, brought up the Lys to Courtray; so it was believed the design was upon Ypres, and there being no apprehension of any attempt on Tournay, no particular care was

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1709. taken of it; but it was on the fudden invested, and the train was fent back to Ghendt, and brought up the Scheld to Tournay. The fiege was carried on Tournay regularly: No disturbance was given to the works is belieged by fallies, fo the town capitulated within a month, and taken the garrison being allowed to retire into the citadel, which was counted one of the strongest in Europe, not only fortified with the utmost exactness, but all the ground was wrought into mines; fo that the refiftance of the garrison was not so much apprehended, as the mischief they might do by blowing up their mines. A capitulation was proposed, for delivering it up on the afth of September, if it should not be relieved sooner, and that all hostilities should cease till then. This was offered by the garrison, and agreed to by the Duke of Marlborough; but the King of France would not confent to it, unless there were a general suspension, by the whole army, of all hostilities; and that being rejected, the fiege went on. Many men were lost in it, but the proceeding by fap prevented much mischief; in the end no relief came, and the garrifon capitalated in the beginning of September, but could obtain no better conditions, than to be made prisoners of warn 000s a morning of the

After this fiege was over, Mons was invested, and the troops marched thither, as foon as they had levelled their trenches about Tournay: But the court of France resolved to venture a battle, rather than to look on, and fee fo important a place taken from them. Boufflers was fent from court to join with Villars, in the execution of this defign: They possessed themselves of a wood, and intrenched themselves to firongly, that in some places there were three intrenchments cast up, one within another. The Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene faw plainly, it was not possible to carry on the slege of Mons, while the French army lay to nearit; fo it was necessary to diflodge them. The attempt was bold, and they faw the execution Bulks

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would be difficult, and cost them many men. This 1709. was the sharpest action in the whole war, and lasted the longest. The French were posted so ad-Thebattle vantageoufly, that our men were oft repulfed; and of Blaindeed the French maintained their ground better, and shewed more courage, than appeared in the whole course of the war: Yet in conclusion they were driven from all their posts, and the action ended in a compleat victory. The number of flain was almost equal on both sides, about 12000 of a fide. We took 500 officers prisoners, besides many cannon, standards, and ensigns. Villars was difabled by some wounds he received, so Boufflers made the retreat in good order. The military men have always talked of this, as the sharpest action in the whole war, not without reflecting on the Generals, for beginning fo desperate an attack. The French thought it a fort of a victory, that they had animated their men, to fight fo well behind entrenchments, and to repulle our men fo often, and with fo great loss. They retired to Valenciennes, and fecured themselves by casting up strong lines, while they left our army to carry on the siege of Mons, without giving them the least diffurbance. As foon as the train of artillery Mons bewas brought from Bruffels, the fiege was carried on fieged and with great vigour, though the featon was both cold and rainy: The outworks were carried with little refistance, and Mons capitulated about the end of October; with that the campaign ended, both armies retiring into winter quarters.

The most important thing, that relates to Italy, Affairs in was, that the Pope delayed acknowledging King Italy. Charles, by feveral pretended difficulties; his defign being to flay and fee the iffue of the campaign; but when he was threatned, towards the end of it, that if it was not done, the imperial army should come and take up their winter quarters in the ecclefialtical flate, he submitted, and

acknowledged him. He fent also his Nephew

Albano, first to Vienna, and then to Poland; he furnished him with a magnificent retinue, and feemed to hope, that by the fervices he should do to the papal interests there, he should be pressed to make him a cardinal, notwithstanding the bull against Nepotism.

Affairs in Spain.

In Catalonia, Staremberg, after he received reinforcements from Italy, advanced towards the Segra, and having for fome days amused the enemy, he passed the river: The Spaniards designed to give him battle, but Besons, who commanded the French troops, refused to engage; this provoked the Spaniards fo much, that King Philip thought it was necessary to leave Madrid, and go to the army; Befons produced his orders from the King of France, to avoid all engagements, with which he feemed much mortified. Staremberg advanced and took Balaguer, and made the garrison prifoners of war; and with that the campaign on that fide was at an end.

The King of Sweden's defeat.

This fummer brought a Catastrophe on the affairs of the King of Sweden: He resolved to invade Muscovy, and engaged himself so far into the Ukrain, that there was no possibility of his retreating, or of having reinforcements brought him. He engaged a great body of Cossacks to join him, who were eafily drawn to revolt from the Czar: He met with great misfortunes, in the end of the former year, but nothing could divert him from his defigns against Muscovy: He passed the Nieper, and besieged Pultowa: The Czar marched to raise the siege, with an army in number much fuperior to the Swedes; but the King of Sweden resolved to venture on a battle, in which he received fuch a total defeat, that he lost his camp, his artillery, and baggage: A great part of his army got off, but being closely pursued by the Muscovites, and having neither bread nor 'ammunition, they were all made prisoners of war.

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The King himself, with a small number about 1709. him, passed the Nieper, and got into the Turkish dominions, and fettled at Bender, a town in Mol-The King davia. Upon this great reverse of his affairs, Turkey. King Augustus pretended, that the refignation of the Crown of Poland was extorted from him by force, and that it was not in his power to refign the Crown, by which he was tied to the republick of Poland, without their confent: So he marched into Poland, and Stanislaus was not able to make any refistance, but continued under the protection of the Swedes, waiting for another reverle of fortune. A project was formed to engage the Kings of Denmark and Pruffia, with King Augustus and the Czar, to attack the Swedes in fo many different places, that the extravagant humour of their King was like now to draw a heavy ftorm upon them; if England and the States, with the Court of Vienna, had not crushed all this, and entred into a guaranty, for preferving the peace of the empire, and by consequence, of the Swedish dominions in Germany. Dantzick was at this time feverely visited with a plague, which swept away almost one half of their inhabitants, though few of the better fort died of the infection. This put their neighbours under great apprehensions, they feared the spreading of the contagion; pleased God, it went no farther. This sudden, and, as it feemed, total reverse of all the designs of the King of Sweden, who had been for many years the terror of all his neighbours, made me write to Dr. Robinson, who had lived above thirty years in that Court, and is now Bishop of Bristol, for a particular character of that King. I shall set it down in his own Words.

He is now in the 28th year of his age, tall and His chaflender, stoops a little, and in his walking dif-racter. covers, though in no great degree, the effect of breaking his thigh-bone about eight years ago: He is of a very vigorous and healthy constitution, Vol. IV.

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1709.

takes a pleasure in enduring the greatest fatigues. and is little curious about his repose: His chief and almost only exercise has been riding, in which he has been extremely excessive: He usually eats with a good appetite, especially in the morning, which is the best of his three meals: He never drinks any thing but small beer, and is not much concerned whether it be good or bad: He speaks little, is very thoughtful, and is observed to mind nothing so much as his own affairs, laying his defigns, and contriving the ways of acting, without communicating them to any, till they are to be put in execution: He holds few or no councils of war; and though in civil affairs his ministers have leave to explain their thoughts, and are heard very patiently; yet he relies more on his own judgment, than on theirs, and frequently falls on such methods, as are farthest from their thoughts: So that, both his Ministers and Generals have hitherto had the glory of obedience, without either the praise or blame of having advised prudently or otherwise. The reason of his reservedness in confulting others may be thus accounted for; he came, at the age of fifteen, to succeed, in an absolute monarchy, and by the forward zeal of the states of the kingdom, was in a few months declared to be of age: There were those about him, that magnified his understanding, as much as his authority, and infinuated that he neither needed advice, nor could submit his affairs to the deliberation of others, without some diminution of his own supreme power. These impressions had not all their effect, till after the war was begun, in the course of which, he furmounted to many impossibilities (as those about him thought them) that he came to have less value for their judgments, and more for his own, and at last to think nothing impossible. So it may be truly faid, that under God, as well all his glorious fuccesses, as the late fatal reverse of them, have been owing folely to his own conduct. 20062

As to his piety, it cannot be faid but that the out- 1709. ward appearances have highly recommended it, only it is not very eafy to account for the excefs of his revenge against King Augustus, and some other instances; but he is not suspected of any bodily indulgences. It is most certain he has all along wished well to the allies, and not at all to France. which he never intended to ferve by any steps he has made. We hear the Turks use him well, but time must shew what use they will make of him, and how he will get back into his own kingdom. If this misfortune does not quite ruin him, it may temper his fire, and then he may become one of the greatest Princes of the age. Thus I leave him and his character.

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The King of Denmark spent a great part of this Affairs in fummer in a very expensive course of travelling, Denmark. through the Courts of Germany and Italy, and it was believed he intended to go to Rome, where great preparations were making, for giving him a splendid reception; for it was given out, that he intended to change his Religion: But whether these reports were altogether groundless, or whether their being so commonly believed, was like to produce some disorders in his own kingdom, is not certainly known; only thus much is certain, that he stopt at Florence, and went no further, but returned home; and upon the King of Sweden's misfortunes, entered into measures to attack Sweden, with King Augustus; who had called a diet in Poland, in which he was acknow-

ledged their King, and all things were fettled there,

according to his wishes. The King of Denmark, upon his return home, fent an army over the

Sound into Schonen; but his counsels were so weak,

and so ill conducted, that he did not send a train

of artillery, with other necessaries, after them:

Some places, that were not tenable, were yielded up by the Swedes, and by the progress, that he

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made at first, he seemed to be in a fair way of recovering

1709.

covering that province; but the Swedes brought an army together, though far inferior to the Danes in number, and falling on them, gave them fuch an entire defeat, that the King of Denmark was forced to bring back, as well as he could, the broken remnants of his army, by which an

end was put to that inglorious expedition.

The Swedish army, that was in Poland, having got into Pomerania, the French studied to engage them to fall into Saxony, to embroil the affairs of Germany, and by that means engage the neighbouring Princes, to recall the troops that were in the Queen's fervice, and that of the other allies in Flanders; but the Queen and the States interposed effectually in this matter, and the Swedes were fo fensible, how much they might need their protection, that they acquiesced in the propositions, that were made to them; fo the peace of the northern parts of the empire was fecured. A peace was likewise made up, between the Grand Seignior and the Czar: The King of Sweden continued still at Bender; the war in Hungary went still on. The Court of Vienna published ample relations of the great successes they had there; but an Hungarian affured me. these were given out, to make the malecontents feem an inconfiderable and ruined party. There were fecret negotiations still going on, but without effect.

Our fleet well conducted.

Nothing of importance pass'd on the sea: The French put out no sleet, and our convoys were so well ordered, and so happy, that our merchants made no complaints: Towards the end of the year the Earl of Pembroke found the care of the sleet a load too heavy for him to bear, and that he could not discharge it, as it ought to be done; so he desired leave to lay it down. It was offered to the Earl of Orford; but though he was willing to serve at the head of a commission, he refused to accept of it singly; so it was put in commission, in which he was the first.

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I now come to give an account of the lession 1709. of Parliament, that came on this winter. All the supplies, that were asked, for carrying on the war, A session were granted, and put on good funds; in this there ment. was a general unanimous concurrence: But the great business of this session, that took up most of their time, and that had great effects in conclusion, related to Dr. Sacheverel: This being one of the most extraordinary transactions in my time, I will relate it very copiously. Dr. Sacheverel was a bold infolent man, with a very small measure of religion, virtue, learning, or good fense, but he resolved to force himself into popularity and preferment, by the most petulant railings at diffenters, and low-churchmen, in leveral fermons and libels, wrote without either chaftness of stile, or liveliness of expression: All was one unpractifed strain of indecent and scurrilous language. When he had purfued this method for leveral years without effect, he was at last brought up by a popular election to a church in Southwark, where he began to make great reflections on the Ministry, representing that the church was in danger, being neglected by those who governed, while they favoured her most inveterate enemies. At the affizes in Derby (where he preached before Sachevethe Judges) and on the fifth of November (preach-rel's fering at St. Paul's in London) he gave a full vent to mon. his fury, in the most virulent declamation, that he could contrive, upon these words of St. Paul's, " perils from false brethren;" in which, after some short reflections upon popery, he let himself loose into luch indecencies, that both the man and the fermon were univerfally condemned: He afferted the doctrine of non-reliftance in the highest strain possible, and faid, that to charge the revolution with reliftance, was to cast black and odious imputations on it; pretending, that the late King had dislowned it, and cited for the proof of that, some words in his declaration, by which he vindicated himself from a delign of conquest. He poured out much scorn and fcurrility

1709. Scurrility on the differences, and reflected severely but the toleration; and faid the church was violently attacked by her enemies, and loofely defended by her pretended friends: He animated the people, to stand up for the defence of the church, for which he faid he founded the trumpet, and defired them to put on the whole armour of God. The court of aldermen refused to desire him to print his sermon; but he did print it, pretending it was upon the defire of Garrard, then Lord Mayor, to whom he dedicated it, with an inflaming epiftle at the head of it. The party, that opposed the Ministry, did so magnify the fermon, that, as was generally reckoned, about 40000 of them were printed, and dispersed over the nation. The Queen feemed highly offended at it, and the Ministry looked on it as an attack made on them, that was not to be despised. The Lord Treasurer was so described, that it was next to the naming him, so a parliamentary impeachment was resolved on; Eyre, then Sollicitor General, and others thought the short way of burning the fermon, and keeping him in prison during the fession, was the better method; but the more solemn way was unhappily chosen.

Many books wrote a-Queen's title.

There had been, ever fince the Queen came to the crown, an open revival of the doctrine of palgainst the five-obedience and non-resistance, by one Liesley, who was the first man that began the war in Ireland; faying, in a speech solemnly made, that King James, by declaring himfelf a papilt, could no longer be our King, fince he could not be the defender of our faith, nor the head of our church, dignities so inherent in the crown, that he, who was incapable of thefe, could not hold it: A copy of which speech, the present Archbishop of Dublin told me he had, under his own hand. As he animated the people with his speech, so some actions followed under his conduct, in which, feveral men were killed; yet this man changed fides quickly, and became the violentest Jacobite in the nation, and was en-

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gaged in many plots, and in writing many books 1709. against the revolution, and the present government. Soon after the Queen was on the throne, he, or his fon as some faid, published a feries of weekly papers under the title of the Rehearfal, purfuing a thread of arguments in them all, against the lawfulness of relistance, in any case whatsoever; deriving government wholly from God, denying all right in the people, either to confer, or to coerce it: The Ministers connived at this, with what intention God

Whilst these seditions papers had a free course for 1710. many years, and were much spread and magnified; one Hoadly, a pious and judicious divine, being Dr. Hoadcalled to preach before the Lord Mayor, chose for ly's writhis text the first verses of the 13th chapter to the fence Romans, and fairly explained the words there, that thereof. they were to be understood only against resisting good Governors, upon the Jewish principles; but, that those words had no relation to bad and cruel Governors: and he afferted, that it was not only lawful, but a duty incumbent on all men, to refift fuch; concluding all, with a vindication of the revolution, and the present government. Upon this, a great outcry was railed, as if he had preached up rebellion; several books were wrote against him, and he justified himself, with a visible superiority of argument, to them all, and did to folidly overthrow the conceit of one Filmer, now espoused by Lesley that government was derived by primogeniture from the first Patriarchs) that for some time, he silenced his adversaries: but it was an easier thing to keep up a clamour, than to write a folid answer. Sacheverel did, with great virulence, reflect on him, and on me, and feveral other Bishops, carrying his venom as far back as to Archbishop Grindal, whom, for his moderation, he called a perfidious Prelate, and a falle fon of the church. When it was moved to impeach him, the Lord Mayor of London, be-

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ing a member of the House of Commons, was examined to this point, whether the fermon was printe ed at his defire or order; upon his owning it, he would have been expelled the House; but he denied he had given any fuch order, though Sacheverel affirmed it, and brought witnesses to prove it: Yet the House would not enter upon that examination; but it was thought more decent to feem to give credit to their own member, though indeed few believed him.

Sacheverel was ·impeach-Commons.

Some opposition was made to the motion, for impeaching Sacheverel, but it was carried by a great ed by the majority: The proceedings were flow; fo those, House of who intended to inflame the city, and the nation upon that occasion, had time sufficient given them, for laying their defigns: They gave it out boldly, and in all places, that a defign was formed by the whigs, to pull down the church, and that this profecution was only fet on foot to try their strength; and that, upon their fuccess in it, they would proceed more openly. Though this was all falshood and forgery, yet it was propagated with fo much application and zeal, and the tools imployed in it, were fo well supplied with money (from whom was not then known) that it is scarce credible how generally it was believed.

Some things concurred to put the vulgar in ill humour; it was a time of dearth and scarcity, so that the poor were much pinched: The fummer before, ten or twelve thousand poor people of the Palatinate, who were reduced to great mifery, came into England; they were well received and supplied, both by the Queen, and by the voluntary charities of good people: This filled our own poor with great indignation; who thought those charities, to which they had a better right, were thus intercepted by strangers; and all who were ill affected, studied to leighten these their resentments. The clergy did generally espouse Sacheverel, as their champion, who had stood in the breach; and so they reckoned

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his cause was their own. Many sermons were 1710. preached, both in London and in other places, to provoke the people, in which they succeeded beyond expectation. Some accidents concurred to delay the proceedings; much time was fpent in preparing the articles of impeachment: And the anfwer was, by many shifts, long delayed: It was bold, without either submission or common respect; he justified every thing in his fermon, in a very haughty and affurning stile. In conclusion, the Lords ordered the trial to be at the bar of their House; but those who found, that by gaining more time, the people were still more inflamed, moved that the trial might be publick in Westminster Hall; where the whole House of Commons might be prefent: This took fo with unthinking people, that it sould not be withstood, though the effects it would have, were well foreseen: The preparing Westminiter Hall was a work of some weeks.

At last, on the 27th of February, the trial be- And tried gun. Sacheverel was lodged in the Temple, and in Westcame every day with great folemnity, in a coach minder, to the Hall; great crouds ran about his coach with many shouts, expressing their concern for him, in a very rude and tumultuous manner. The trial lasted three weeks, in which all other business was at a stand; for this took up all mens thoughts: The managers for the Commons opened the matter very folemnly: Their performances were much and justly commended: Jekyll, Eyre, Stanhope, King, but above all Parker, distinguished themselves in a very particular manner: They did copiously justify both the revolution, and the present administration. There was no need of witnesses: for the fermon being owned by him, all the evidence was brought from it, by laying his words together, and by shewing his intent and meaning in them, which appeared from comparing one place with another. When his Council, Sir Simon Harcourt, Dodd, Phipps, and two others,

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came to plead for him, they very freely acknow. ledged the lawfulness of resistance in extreme cases, and plainly justified the revolution, and our deliverance by King William: But they faid, it was not fit, in a fermon, to name fuch an exception; that the duties of morality ought to be delivered in their full extent, without supposing an extraordinary case: And therefore Sacheverel had followed precedents, fet by our greatest divines, ever fince the reformation, and ever fince the revolution. Upon this, they opened a great field; they began with the declarations made in King Henry the VIII's time; they infifted next, upon the Homilies, and from thence instanced in a large series of Bishops and divines, who had preached the duty of fubmiffion and non-reliftance, in very full terms, without fuppoling any exception; some excluding all exceptions, in as politive a manner, as he had done: They explained the word Revolution, as belonging to the new fettlement upon King James's withdrawing; though, in the common acceptation, it was understood of the whole transaction, from the landing of the Dutch army, till the fettlement made by the convention. So they understanding the revolution in that sense, there was indeed no resistance there: If the passage, quoted from the declaration, given out by the late King, while he was Prince of Orange, did not come up to that, for which he quoted it; he ought not to be censured because his quotation did not fully prove his point. As for his invective against the differents and the toleration, they laboured to turn that off, by faying, he did not reflect on what was allowed by law, but on the permillion of, or the not punishing many, who published impious and blasphemous books: And a collection was made, of paffages in books, full of crude impiety and of bold opinions. This gave great offence to many, who thought that this was a tolema publishing of fo much impiety to the nation, by which more mischief would be done, than by the books hooks themselves; for most of them had been neglefted, and known only to a small number, of those who encouraged them: And the authors, of many of these books, had been prosecuted and punished for them. As to those parts of the fermon, that let out the danger the church was in, though both Houses had some years ago voted it a great offence, m fay it was in danger, they faid it might have been in none four years ago, when these votes passed, and yet be now in danger: The greatest of all dangers was to be apprehended, from the wrath of God for fuch impieties. They faid, the reflections on the administration were not meant of those, imployed immediately by the Queen, but of men in inferior polts: If his words feemed capable of a bad fense, they were also capable of a more innocent one; and every man was allowed to put any construction on his words, that they could bear. When the counsel had ended their defence, Sacheverel concluded it with a speech, which he read with much bold heat; in which, with many folemn affeverations, he justified his intentions towards the Queen and her government; he spoke with respect, both of the revolution and the protestant succession; he infilted most on condemning all refistance, under any pretence whatfoever, without mentioning the exception of extreme necessity, as his counsel had done: he laid, it was the doctrine of the church, in which he was bred up; and added many pathetical expressions, to move the audience to compastion. This had a great effect on the weaker fort, while it possessed those, who knew the man and his ordinary discourses, with horror, when they heard him affirm to many falthoods, with fuch folern appeals to God. It was very plain the speech was made for him by others; for the stile was correct, and far different from his own.

During the trial, the multitudes that followed A great him, all the way as he came, and as he went back, diforder at that thewed a great concern for him, preffing about time,

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him, and striving to kis his hand: Money was - thrown among them; and they were animated to such a pitch of fury, that they went to pull down fome meeting-houses, which was executed on five of them, as far as burning all the pews in them. This was directed by fome of better fashion, who followed the mob in hackney coaches, and were feen fending messages to them: The word, upon which all shouted, was the Church and Sacheverel: And fuch, as joined not in the shout, were insulted and knocked down: Before my own door, one, with a spade, cleft the skull of another, who would not shout as they did. There happened to be a meeting-house near me, out of which they drew every thing that was in it, and burned it before the door of the house. They threatened to do the like execution on my house; but the noise of the riot coming to court, orders were fent to the guards to go about, and disperse the multitudes, and secure the publick peace. As the guards advanced, the people ran away; some few were only taken; these were afterwards profecuted; but the party shewed a violent concern for them; two of them were condemned as guilty of high treason; small fines were fet on the rest; but no execution followed; and after some months, they were pardoned: And indeed this remissiness, in punishing so great a disorder, was looked on as the preparing and encouraging men to new tumults. There was a fecret management in this matter, that amazed all people: For though the Queen, upon an address made to her by the House of Commons, set out a proclamation, in which this riot was, with fevere words, laid upon Papifts and Nonjurors, who were certainly the chief promoters of it; yet the proceedings afterwards did not answer the threatnings of the proclamation.

Continua- When Sacheverel had ended his defence, the tion of the managers for the House of Commons replied, and trial. Shewed very evidently, that the words of his ser-

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mon could not reasonably bear any other sense, but that for which they had charged him; this was an easy performance, and they managed it with great life: But the humour of the town was turned against them, and all the clergy appeared for Sacheverel. Many of the Queen's chaplains stood about him, encouraging and magnifying him; and it was given out, that the Queen herself favoured him: Though, upon my first coming to town, which was after the impeachment was brought up to the Lords, she said to me, that it was a bad fermon, and that he deserved well to be punished for it. All her Ministers, who were in the House of Commons, were named to be managers, and they spoke very zealously for publick liberty, justifying the revolution. Holt. the Lord Chief Justice of Sir John the King's-Bench, died during the trial: He was Hole's very learned in the law, and had upon great occa-character. fions shewed an intrepid zeal in afferting its authority; for he ventured on the indignation of both Houses of Parliament by turns, when he thought the law was with him: He was a man of good judgment and great integrity, and fet himfelf with great application to the functions of that important post. Immediately upon his death, Parker was Parker made Lord Chief Justice: This great promotion made Ld Chief feemed an evident demonstration of the Queen's Justice. approving the profecution; for none of the managers had treated Sacheverel fo feverely as he had done; yet fecret whispers were very confidently fet about, that though the Queen's affairs put her on acting the part of one, that was pleafed with this scene, yet she disliked it all, and would take the first occasion to shew it.

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After the trial was ended, the debate was taken Debates up in the House of Lords: It stuck long on the in the first article; none pretended to justify the fermon, House of Lords or to affert absolute non-resistance: All who fa- after the voured him, went upon this, that the duty of obe-trial.

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dience ought to be delivered in full and general 1710. words, without putting in exceptions, or supposing odious cases: This had been the method of all our divines. Pains were also taken to shew, that his fermon did not reflect on the revolution; On the other hand, it was faid, that fince the revolution had happened so lately, and was made still the subject of much controversy, those absolute expressions did plainly condemn it. The revolution was the whole progress of the turn, from the Prince of Orange's landing, till the act of fettlement paffed. The act of Parliament expressed, what was meant, by the abdication and the vacancy of the Throne; that it did not only relate to King James's withdrawing himself, but to his ceasing to govern according to our constitution and laws, setting up his meer will and pleasure, as the measure of his government: This was made plainer, by another clause in the acts then passed, which provided, that if any of our Princes should become Papists, or

> marry Papists, the subjects were, in those cases, declared to be free from their allegiance. Some of the Bishops spoke in this debate on each side; Hooper, Bishop of Bath and Wells, spoke in excuse of Sacheverel: But Talbot, Bishop of Oxford; Wake, Bishop of Lincoln; Trimnel, Bishop of Norwich,

> and myfelf, spoke on the other side. We shewed the falshood of an opinion too commonly received, that the church of England had always condemned refistance, even in the cases of extreme tyranny: The books of the Maccabees, bound in our Bibles,

> and approved by our articles, (as containing examples of life and inflruction of manners, though not as any part of the canon of the fcripture) contained a

full and clear precedent for relifting and shaking off extreme tyranny: The Jews, under that brave family, not only defended themselves against Antiochus, but formed themselves into a free and new

government. Our Homilies were only against wilful rebellion, such as had been then against our Kings,

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Kings, while they were governing by law: But at 1710. that very time, Queen Elizabeth had affifted, first the Scotch, and then the French, and to the end of her days continued to protect the States, who not only refifted, but, as the Maccabees had done, shook off the Spanish yoke, and set up a new form of government: In all this the was not only justified by the best writers of that time, such as Jewel and Billon, but was approved and supported in it: Both her Parliaments and Convocations gave her subsidies, to carry on those wars. The same principles were kept up all King James reign: In the beginning of King Charles's reign, he protected the Rochellers, and asked supplies from the Parliament, to enable him to do it effectually; and ordered a fast and prayers to be made for them. It is true, foon after that, new notions of absolute power, derived from God to Kings, were taken up; at the first rise given to these by Manwaring, they were condemned by a fentence of the Lords 1 and though he submitted, and retracted his opinion, yet a severe censure passed upon him: But during the long discontinuance of Parliaments that followed, this doctrine was more favoured; it was generally preached up, and many things were done pursuant to it, which put the nation into the great convulfions, that followed in our civil wars. After these were over, it was natural to return to the other extreme, as courts naturally favour such doctrines. King James trusted too much to it; yet the very affertors of that doctrine were the first, who pleaded for refistance, when they thought they needed it. Here was matter for a long debate: It was carnied by a majority of seventeen, that the first article was proved. The party, that was for Sacheverel, made no opposition to the votes upon the following articles; but contented themselves, with protesting against them: The Lords went down to the hall, where the question being put upon the whole impeachrestrict hideoffon was lice-

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impeachment, guilty or not guilty, fifty-two voted him not guilty, and fixty-nine voted him guilty.

The next debate was, what censure ought to pass fured very upon him: And here a strange turn appeared; fome feemed to apprehend the effects of a popular fury, if the censure was severe; to others it was faid, that the Queen defired it might be mild; fo it was proposed to suspend him from preaching for one year; others were for fix years; but by a vote it was fixed to three years. It was next moved, that he should be incapable of all preferment for those three years; upon that, the House was divided. fifty-nine were for the vote, and fixty were against its fo that being laid aside, the fermon was ordered to be burnt, in the presence of the Lord Mayor, and the Sheriffs of London, and this was done; only the Lord Mayor, being a member of the House of Commons, did not think he was bound to be prefent. The Lords also voted, that the decrees of the university of Oxford, passed in 1683, in which the absolute authority of Princes, and the unalterableness of the hereditary right of succeeding to the Crown, were afferted in a very high strain, should be burnt with Sacheverel's fermon: The House of Commons likewise ordered the impious collection of blasphemous expressions, that Sacheverel had printed as his justification, to be also burnt.

When this mild judgment was given, those, who had supported him during the trial, expressed an inconceivable gladness, as if they had got a victory; bonfires, illuminations, and other marks of joy appeared, not only in London, but over the

whole kingdom.

Addresses against the Parliament.

This had yet greater effects; addresses were set on foot, from all the parts of the nation, in which the absolute power of our Princes was afferted, and all refiftance was condemned, under the delignation of antimonarchical and republican principles; the Queen's hereditary right was acknowledged, and yet a zeal for the protestant succession was likecd

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wise pretended, to make those addresses pass the 1710. more eafily, with unthinking multitudes: Most of these concluded, with an intimation of their hopes, that the Queen would dissolve the present Parliament, giving affurances, that in a new election, they would choose none, but such as should be faithful to the Crown, and zealous for the Church: These were at first more coldly received; for the Queen either made no answer at all, or made them in very general words. Addresses were brought upon the other hand, magnifying the conduct of the Parliament, and expressing a zeal for maintaining the Revolution and the Protestant succession.

In the beginning of April the Parliament was The prorogued, and the Queen, in her speech there-Queen's upon, expressed her concern, that there was cause speech. given for that, which had taken up fo much of their time, wishing that all her people would be quiet, and mind their own bulinels; adding, that in all times there was too much occasion given to complain of impiety, but that she would continue that zeal, which she had hitherto expressed for religion, and for the church: This feemed to look a different way from the whispers that had been set about. Soon after that, she made a step that revived them again: The Duke of Shrewsbury had gone out of England in the end of the former reign, thinking, as he gave out, that a warmer climate was necessary for his health: He staid several years at Rome, where he became acquainted with a Roman lady: And she, upon his leaving Rome to return to England, went after him to Aughbourg, where the overtook him, and declared herfelf a Proteltant; upon which he married her there, and came with her back to England, in the year 1706. Upon his return, the whigs lived in civilities with Duke of him; but they thought his leaving England, and Shrewfhis living fo long out of it, while we were in fo bury made much danger at home, and his strange marriage, berlain. VOL. IV.

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gave just cause of suspicion. The Duke of Marl. borough, and the Lord Godolphin, lived still in friendships with him, and studied to overcome the jealousies, that the whigs had of him; for they generally believed, that he had advised the late King to the change he made in his Ministry, towards the end of his reign. He seemed not to be concerned at the distance, in which he was kept from business, but in the late trial, he left the whigs in every vote; and a few days after the Parliament was prorogued, the Queen, without communicating the matter to any of her Ministers, took the Chamberlain's white staff from the Marquis of Kent, (whom, in recompence for that, she advanced to be a Duke) and gave it to the Duke of Shrewsbury. This gave a great alarm; for it was upon that concluded, that a total change of the Ministry would quickly follow; the change of principles, that he had discovered in the trial, was imputed to a fecret management between him and Harley, with the new favourite. The Queen's inclination to her, and her alienation from the Dutchess of Marlborough, did increase, and broke out in many little things, not worth naming: Upon that, the Dutchess retired from the Court, and appeared no more at it. The Duke of Shrewbury gave the Ministers very positive affurances, that his principles were the fame they had been during the last reign, and were in no respect altered: Upon which, he defired to enter into confidences with them; but there was now too much ground given for fulpicion.

The . Queen to with great free-

During this winter, I was encouraged by the Queen, to speak more freely to her of her affairs, was spoke than I had ever ventured to do formerly; I told her what reports were fecretly spread of her, thro the nation, as if the favoured the defign of bringing the Pretender, to succeed to the Crown, upon a bargain that the should hold it during her life: I was fure these reports were spread about by persons, 1-

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who were in the confidence of those, that were 1710. believed to know her mind; I was well affured, that the Jacobites of Scotland had, upon her coming to the Crown, lent up one Ogilby of Boyne, who was in great esteem among them, to propole the bargain to her; he, when he went back, gave the party full affurances that she accepted of it: This I had from some of the Lords of Scotland. who were then in the fecret with the professed Jacobites. The Earl of Cromarty made a speech in Parliament, as was formerly mentioned, contradicting this, and alluding to the distinction of the Calvinists, made between the fecret and the revealed will of God; he affured them, the Queen had no fecret will, contrary to that which she declared: Yet at the same time his brother gave the party affurances to the contrary. I told the Queen all this; and faid, if the was capable of making fuch a bargain for herself, by which her people were to be delivered up, and facrificed after her death, as it would darken all the glory of her reign, so it must set all her people to confider of the most proper ways of securing themselves, by bringing over the Protestant successfors; in which, I told her plainly I would concur, if the did not take effectual means to extinguish those jealousies. I told her, her Ministers had lerved her with that fidelity, and fuch fuccefs, that her making a change among them would amaze all the world. The glory of Queen Elizabeth's reign arole from the firmness of her counsels, and the continuance of her Ministers, as the three last reigns, in which the Ministry was often changed, had fuffered extremely by it. I also shewed her, that if the fuffered the Pretender's party to prepare the nation, for his fucceeding her, she ought not to imagine, that when they thought they had fixed that matter, they would stay for the natural end of her life; but that they would find ways to shorten it: Nor did I think it was to be doubted, but that in 1708, when the Pretender was upon the sea, U 2 they

news of his landing, would have tried to dispatch her. It was certain, that their interest led them to it, as it was known that their principles did allow of it. This, with a great deal more to the same purpose, I laid before the Queen; she heard me patiently; she was for the most part silent: Yet, by what she said, she seemed desirous to make me think, she agreed to what I laid before her; but I found afterwards it had no effect upon her: Yet I had great quiet in my own mind, since I had, with an honest freedom, made the best use I could have of the access I had to her.

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The Duke of Marlborough went beyond fea in February, to prepare all matters for an early campaign, defigning to open it in April, which was done: The French had wrought to long upon their lines, that it was thought, they would have taken as much care in maintaining them; but upon the advance of our army, they abandoned them. And though they feemed resolved to make a stand upon the Scarp, yet they ran from that likewife; and this opened the way all on to Doway: So that was invefted. The garrison was 8000 strong, well furnished with every thing necessary to make a brave defence; the besieged fallied out often, sometimes with advantage, but much oftener with loss; it was the middle of May before the French could bring their army together; it appeared, that they resolved to stand upon the defensive, though they had brought up together a vast army of two hundred battalions, and three hundred fquadrons: They lay before Arras, and advanced to the plains of Lens; Villars commanded, and made fuch fpeeches to his army, that it was generally believed, he would venture on a battle, rather than look on

and fee Doway loft. The Duke of Marlborough

and Prince Eugene posted their army so advan-

tageously, both to cover the siege, and to receive

the enemy, that he durst not attack them; but

Doway besieged and taken.

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after he had looked on a few days, in which the 17.10. two armies were not above a league distant, he drew off: So the fiege going on, and no relief appearing, both Doway and the Fort Escarp capitulated on the 14th of June.

I have now compleated my first design in writ- The hising, which was to give a history of our affairs for tory confifty years, from the 29th of May 1660: So if I tinued to confined myself to that, I should here give over: the peace. But the war feeming now to be near an end, and the peace, in which it must end, being that which will probably give a new lettlement to all Europe. as well as to our affairs, I resolve to carry on this work to the conclusion of the war. And therefore I begin with the progress of the negotiations for peace, which feemed now to be profecuted with warmth.

All the former winter, an intercourse of letters Negotiatiwas kept up between Pettecum and Torcy, to ons for a try if an expedient could be found, to foften that article, for the reduction of Spain, to the obedience of King Charles; which was the thirty-seventh article of the preliminaries: It still was kept in agitation upon the foot of offering three towns, to be put into the hands of the allies, to be restored by them, when the affairs of Spain should be fettled; otherwise to be still retained by them. The meaning of which was no other, than that France was willing to lofe three more towns, in case King Philip should keep Spain and the West-Indies: The places therefore ought to have born some equality to that, for which they were to be given in pawn; but the answers the French made to every propolition, shewed they meant nothing but to amuse and distract the allies. The first demand the allies made, was of the places in Spain, then in the hands of the King of France; for the delivering up thefe, might have been a good step to the reduction of the whole: But this was flatly refused; and, that

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1710. the King of France might put it out of his power to treat about it, he ordered his troops to be drawn out of all the strong places in Spain, and foon after out of that kingdom, pretending he was thereby evacuating it; though the French forces were kept still in the neighbourhood: So a shew was made of leaving Spain to defend itself. And upon that, King Philip prevailed on the Spaniards, to make great efforts, beyond what was ever expected of them. This was done by the French King, to deceive both the allies and his own fubjects, who were calling loudly for a peace: And it likewife eafed him of a great part of the charge, that Spain had put him to. But while his troops were called out of that kingdom, as many deferted, by a visible connivance, as made up several battalions: And all the Walloon regiments, as being fubjects of Spain, were fent thither: So that King Philip was not weakened by the recalling the French troops; and by this means, the places in Spain could not be any more demanded. The next, as most important towards the reduction of Spain, was the demand that Bayonne and Perpignan might he put into the hands of the allies, with Thionville on the fide of the empire. By the two former, all communication between France and Spain would be cut off, and the allies would be enabled to fend forces thither, with less expence and trouble: But it was faid, these were the keys of France, which the King could not part with; fo it remained to treat of towns on the frontier of the Netherlands; and even there they excepted Doway, Arras, and Cambray: fo that all their offers appeared illusory; and the intercourse by letters was for some time let fall. But in the end of the former year, Torcy wrote to Pettecum, to defire, either that passes might be granted to some Ministers to come to Holland, to go on with the negotiation, or that Pettecum might be suffered to go to Paris, to see if an expedient could be found ! 1

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and the States confented to the last. In the mean, 1710. while, King Philip published a Manifesto, protesting against all that should be transacted at the Hague, to his prejudice; declaring his resolution to adhere to his faithful Spaniards: He also named Plenipotentiaries, to go in his name to the treaty, who gave the States notice of their powers and infructions; and, in a letter to the Duke of Marlborough, they gave intimations, how grateful King Philip would be to him, if by his means these his defires might be complied with; as the like infinuations had been often made by the French agents: But no notice was taken of this message from King Philip, nor was any answer given to it. Pettecum, after some days stay at Paris, came back without the pretence of offering any expedient, but brought a paper, that seemed to set aside the preliminaries: yet it fet forth, that the King was willing to treat on the foundation of the concesfions made in them to the allies; and that the execution of all the articles should begin after the ratification. This destroyed all that had been hitherto done; and the distinction, the King had formerly made, between the spirit and the letter of the partition treaty, shewed how little he was to be relied on: So the States resolved to insist, both on the preliminaries, and on the execution of them, before a general treaty should be opened. By this meffage, all thoughts of a treaty were at a full stand. In the beginning of February another project was fent, which was an amplification of that, brought by Pettecum; only the restoring the two Electors was infifted on as a preliminary, as also the restoring the upper Palatinate to the Elector of Bavaria; but the allies still insisted on the for-mer preliminaries. The Court of France seeing, that the States were not to be wrought on, to go off from the preliminaries, fent another message to them, that the King agreed to all the preliminaries, except the thirty-seventh; and if they would con-lent, ladf.

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1710. fent, that his Ministers should come and confer with them upon that article, he did not doubt, but what should be proposed from him, would be to their fatisfaction. This feemed to give fome hopes, fo the States refolved to fend the passports; but they forefaw the ill effects, of fuffering the French Ministers to come into their country, who, by their agents, were every where ftirring up the people against the government, as if they were prolonging the war without neceffity; so they appointed Gertruydenburg to be the place, to which the French Ministers were to come, to treat with the deputies they should

truydenburg.

fend to meet them.

The Ministers sent by France, were the Marces at Ger-quis d'Uxelles and the abbot de Polignac; and those from the States were Buys and Vanderdusten: The conferences began in March. The French proposed, that the dominions in Italy, with the islands, should be given to one of the competitors for the Spanish Monarchy, without naming which; but it was understood, that they meant King Philip: The Deputies did not absolutely reject this; but shewed, that the Emperor would never confent to parting with Naples, nor giving the French fuch footing in Italy; the French feemed to be sensible of this: The first conference ended, upon the return of the courier, whom they fent to Versailles. They moved for another conference; and upon feveral propositions, there were feveral conferences renewed. The King of France desifted from the demand of Naples, but insisted on that of the places on the coast of Tuscany: At last they defisted from that too, and infifted only on Sicily and Sardinia: So now the partition feemed as it were fettled. Upon which, the deputies of the States pressed the Ministers of France to give them folid affurances of King Philip's quitting Spain and the West-Indies; to this (upon advertisement given to the Court of France) they answered, that the King would enter into measures with them to force it. Many difficulties were started, about the troops to be imployed, what their number should be, and who should command them; all which shewed the execution would prove impracticable. Then they talked of a fum of money, to be paid annually during the war; and here new difficulties arose, both in settling the sum, and in fecuring the payment: They offered the bankers of Paris; but these must all break, whensoever the King had a mind they should: So it plainly appeared, all was intended only to divide the allies, by this offer of a partition, to which the States confented; and at which, the French hoped the house of Austria would have been provoked against The French asked an assurance of the deputies, that no other articles should be insisted on, but those in the preliminaries; this the deputies politively refused; for they had, by one of the preliminaries, referved a power to all the allies to make farther demands, when a general treaty should be opened; they faid, they themselves would demand no more, but they could not limit the rest, from their just demands. This was another artifice, to provoke the Empire, and the Duke of Savoy, as if the States intended to force them to accept of fuch a peace, as they fhould prescribe: In another conference, the States rejected the offer of a fum of money, for carrying on the war in Spain, and therefore demanded, that the French would explain themselves upon the subject of evacuating Spain and the West-Indies, in favour of King Charles, before they could declare their intentions, with relation to the partition; and added, that all further conferences would be to no purpole, till that was done.

The French were now refolved to break off the All came negotiation; and so they were pleased to call this to no condemand of the States, a formal rupture of the clusion. treaty; and upon the return of an express, that

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they sent to Versailles, they wrote a long letter to the pensioner, in the form of a manifesto; and so returned back to France, in the end of July. This is the account, that both our Ministers here, and the States have published of that affair: French have published nothing; for they would not own to the Spaniards, that they ever entered upon any treaty, for a partition of their Monarchy, much less for evacuating Spain. Whether France did ever design any thing, by all this negotiation, but to quiet their own people, and to amuse and divide the allies, is yet to us a fecret; but if they ever intended a peace, the reason of their going off from it, must have been the account they then had of our distractions in England; which might make them conclude, that we could not be in a condition to carry on the war.

A change of the Minittry in England.

The Queen's intentions to make a change in her Ministry now began to break out; in June she difinished the Earl of Sunderland from being Secretary of State, without pretending any maleverfation in him, and gave the feals to the Lord Dartmouth. This gave the alarm, both at home and abroad; but the Queen, to lessen that, said to her subjects here, in particular to the governors of the Bank of England, and wrote to her Ministers abroad, that they should assure her allies, that she would make no other changes; and faid this herfelf to the Minister, whom the States had here: All these concurred to express their joy in this refolution, and joined to it their advice, that she would not dissolve the Parliament. This was represented by those, who had never been versed in the negotiations of Princes in an alliance, as a bold intruding into the Queen's councils; though nothing is more common than for Princes to offer mutual advices, in such cases. Two months after the missed the Earl of Godolphin, from being Lord Treasurer, and put the treasury in commission: Lord they

Lord Powlet was the first in form, but Mr. Har- 1708. ley was the person, with whom the secret was lodged; and it was visible, he was the chief Minifter: and now it appeared, that a total change of the Ministry, and the dissolution of the Parlia-

ment, were resolved on.

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In the mean while Sacheverel, being presented to Sachevea benefice in North Wales, went down to take pof- rel's prosession of it; as he passed through the countries, wales. both going and coming, he was received and followed by fuch numbers, and entertained with fuch magnificence, that our Princes in their progresses have not been more run after, than he was: Great fury and violence appeared, on many occasions, though care was taken to give his followers no fort of provocation; he was looked on as the champion of the church; and he shewed as much insolence on that occasion, as his party did folly. No notice was taken, by the government, of all these riots; they were rather favoured and encouraged than checked; all this was like a prelude to a greater The Queen icene, that was to be acted at court. came in October to Council, and called for a proclamation, diffolving the Parliament, which Harcourt (now made Attorney-General in the room of Montague, who had quitted that post) had prepared: when it was read, the Lord Chancellor offered to speak; but the Queen rose up, and would admit of no debate, and ordered the writs for a new Parliament to be prepared. At that time the difinifled the Lord Somers, and in his room made the Earl of Rochester Lord President of the Council: She sent to the Duke of Devonshire, for the Lord Steward's Staff, and gave it to the Duke of Buckingham; Mr. Boyle was dismissed from being Secretary of State, and Mr. St. John had the feals: The Earl of Derby was removed from being Chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaster, and was succeeded by the Lord Berkeley. The Lord Chancellor came, upon all these removes, and delivered up the Great

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1710. Seal; the Queen did not look for this, and was furprized at it; and not knowing how to dispose of it, she, with an unusual earnestness, pressed him to keep it one day longer; and the day following, the having confidered the matter with her favourites, Mrs. Masham and Mr. Harley, received it very readily; and it was foon given to Sir Simon Harcourt. The Earl of Wharton delivered up his commission of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and that was given to the Duke of Ormond: and the Earl of Orford, with some of the Commissioners of the Admiralty. withdrew from that board, in whose room others were put. So fudden, and so entire a change of the Ministry, is scarce to be found in our history, especially where men of great abilities had ferved, both with zeal and fuccess, infomuch, that the administration of all affairs, at home and abroad, in their hands, was not only without exception, but had raised the admiration of all Europe. All this rose purely from the great credit of the new favourites, and the Queen's personal distaste to the old ones. The Queen was much delighted with all these changes, and feemed to think the was freed from the chains the old Ministry held her in: She spoke of it to several persons as a captivity, she had been long under. The Duke of Somerfet had very much alienated the Queen from the old Ministry, and had no small share in their disgrace; but he was so displeased with the dissolution of the Parliament, and the new model of the Ministry, that, though he continued some time Master of the Horse, he refuled to fit any more in Council, and complained openly of the artifices, had been used, to make him instrumental to other people's deligns, which he did

tions of Parliament men.

The elec- The next, and indeed the greatest care of the new Ministry was, the managing the elections to Parliament. Unheard-of methods were used to secure them; in London, and in all the parts of England, but more remarkably in the great cities, there was

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was vait a vast concourse of rude multitudes brought toge- 1710. ther, who behaved themselves in so boisterous a manner, that it was not fafe, and in many places not possible, for those who had a right to vote, to come and give their votes for a whig; open violence was used in several parts: this was so general, thro the whole kingdom, all at the same time, that it was visible the thing had been for some time concerted, and the proper methods and tools had been prepared for it. The clergy had a great share in this; for besides a course, for some months, of inflaming fermons, they went about from house to house, preffing their people to shew, on this great occasion, their zeal for the church, and now or never to fave it: They also told them, in what ill hands the Queen had been kept, as in captivity, and that it was a charity, as well as their duty, to free her from the power the late Ministry exercised over

While the poll was taken in London, a new commission for the lieutenancy of the city was sent in; by which a great change was made; tories were put in, and whigs were left out; in a word, the practice and violence used now in elections, went far beyond any thing, that I had ever known in England: And by such means, above three parts in four of the Members returned to Parliament, may at any time be packed: And, if free elections are necessary to the being of a Parliament, there was great reason to doubt, if this was a true representative duly elected.

The Bank was the body, to which the govern- A finking ment of late had recourse, and was always readily of credit. furnished by it; but their credit was now so sunk, that they could not do as they had done formerly; actions, that some months before were at 130, sunk now so low as to 95, and did not rise above 101 or 102, all the following winter. The new Ministers gave it out, that they would act moderately at home, and steadily abroad, maintain our alliances,

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1710, and carry on the war. But before I enter on the feffion of Parliament. I will give account of affairs abroad, values of this shall for some it smil a

Affairs in King Philip went to Arragon to his army, and gave it out, that he was resolved to put all to the decision of a battle with King Charles, who was likewife come to head his army; they lay fo near one another, that King Philip cannonaded the camp of his enemies, but his men were beat off with loss, and drew away to a greater distance; however, before the end of July, there was an action of great importance near Almanara; The main body of King Philip's horse designed to cut off a part of King Charles's foot, that was separated from the cavalry, commanded by Stanhope: He drew his whole body together; and though he was much inferior in number, yet he fent to King Charles for orders, to engage the enemy, It was not without some difficulty, and after some re-iterated pressing instances, that he got leave to fall on.

cat preduct

The battle As the two bodies were advancing one against of Alma- another, Stanhope rode at the head of his body, and the Spanish General advanced at the head of his troops: The two Generals began the action; in which, very happily for Stanhope, he killed the Spaniard: And his men, animated with the example and fuccess of their General, fell on and broke the Spanish horse so entirely, that King Philip lost the best part of his cavalry in that action; upon which, he retired towards Saragoza; but was closely followed by King Charles: And on the 20th of August, they came to a total engagement, which ended in an entire defeat: And by this means Arragon was again in King Charles's hands. King Philip got off with a very small body to Madrid, But he soon deft it, and retired with all the tribunals following him to Valladolid; and fent his Queen and fon to -Victoria. Some of his troops got off in small bodies; and these were, in a little time brought together, to the number of about 10000 men; the troops,

were brought to join them, with which they foon

made up the face of an army.

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King Charles made all the hafte he could to Ma- K.Charles drid, but found none of the grandees there; and it at Madrid. appeared, that the Castilians were firmly united to King Philip, and resolved to adhere to him, at all hazards. The King of France now shewed, he was resolved to maintain his grandson, fince if he had ever intended to do it, it was now very early to oblige him to evacuate Spain. On the contrary, he fent the Duke of Vendome, to command the army there; and he ordered some troops to march into Catalonia, to force King Charles to come back, and fecure that principality. King Charles continued till the beginning of December in Caltile. In all that time, no care was taken by the allies, to supply or support him: We were so engaged in our party-matters at home, that we leemed to take no thought of things abroad, and without us nothing could be done: The court of Vienna was fo apprehensive of the danger from a war, like to break out, between the Grand Seignior and the Czar, that they would not diminish their army in Hungary. After King Charles left his army, Starembergh seemed resolved to take his winter Quarters in Castile, and made a shew of fortifying Toledo; but for want of provision, and chiefly for fear that his retreat to Arragon might be cut off, he refolved to march back to the Ebro: King Philip marched after him. Starembergh left Stanhope lome hours march behind him, and he took up his quarters in an unfortified village, called Brihuega: But finding King Philip was near him, he lent his Aid de Camp to let Starembergh know his danger, and to defire his affiftance. Starembergh might have come in time to have faved him; but he moved to flowly, that it was conjectured, he envied the glory Stanhope had got, and was not forry to fee it eclipfed; and therefore made not that hafte, he might Stanhope and ought to have done.

1710. The battle of Villa Viciofa.

Stanhope and his men cast up entrenchments, and defended these very bravely, as long as their powder lasted; but in conclusion they were forced to furrender themselves prisoners of war: Some hours after that, Starembergh came up; and though the enemy were more than double his number, yet he attacked them with fuch fuccess, that he defeated them quite, killed 7000 of their men, took their cannon and baggage, and staid a whole day in the field of battle. The enemy drew back; but Starembergh had fuffered fo much in the action, that he was not in a condition to pursue them; nor could he carry off their cannon for want of horses; but he nailed them up, and by flow marches got to Saragoza, the enemy not thinking it convenient to give him any disturbance. As he did not judge it fafe to flay long in Arragon, fo, in the beginning of January, he marched into Catalonia; but his army had fuffered so much, both in the last action at Villa Viciosa, and in the march, that he was not in a condition to venture on raising the siege of Gironne; which was then carried on by the Duke of Noailles: And no relief coming, the garrison, after a brave defence, was forced to capitulate; and by this means Catalonia was open to the enemy on all fides. I want or have

grace of of Medina Celi.

The dif- The Spanish grandees seemed to be in some apprehensions, of their being given up by the French; and there was a fuspicion of some caballing among them: Upon which, the Duke of Medina Celi, King Philip's chief Minister, was sent a close prisoner to the castle of Segovia, and was kept there very strictly, none being admitted to speak to him: He was not brought to any examination; but after he had been for some months in prison, being often removed from one place to another, it was at last given out, that he died in prison, not without the fuspicion of ill practices. Nothing passed on the fide of Piedmont, the Duke of Savoy complaining still of the Imperial court, and upon that refusing to act vigoroufly.

After Doway was taken, our army fate down 1710. before Bethune; and that siege held them a month, at the end of which the garrison capitulated: Bethune, And our army fate down at one and the fame time, St. Venant before Aire and St. Venant, to secure the head of are taken. the Lys. St. Venant was taken in a few weeks; but the marshy ground about Aire, made that a flower work: fo that the fiege continued there about two months, before the garrifon capitulated. This campaign, though not of fuch luftre as the former, because no battle was fought, yet was by military. men looked on as a very extraordinary one in this respect, that our men were about an hundred and fifty days in open trenches; which was faid to be a thing without example. During these sieges, the French army posted themselves in sure camps; but did not ftir out of them; and it was not possible to engage them into any action. Nothing confiderable passed on the Rhine, they being equally unable to enter upon action on both fides.

The Czar carried on the war in Livonia with Affairs in fuch fuccess, that he took both Riga and Revel; the North. and to add to the miseries of Sweden, a great plague swept away many of their people. Sweden itself was left exposed to the Danes and the Czar; but their dominions in Germany were fecured by the guaranty of the allies: Yet, though the government of Sweden did accept of this provisionally, till the King's pleasure should be known, it was not without difficulty, that he was prevailed on to give way

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m, what exclere the had goven want of I come now to give an account of the fession of The new Parliament, which was opened the 25th of Novem- Parliaber: The Queen, in her speech, took no notice of ment othe fuccesses of this campaign, as she had always pened. done in her former speeches; and instead of promiling to maintain the toleration, she said she would maintain the indulgence granted by law to ferupulous consciences; this change of phrase into Sacheverel's language was much observed. The VOL. IV.

1710. Lords made an address of an odd composition to her, which shewed it was not drawn by those, who had penned their former addresses: Instead of promiling, that they would do all that was possible, they only promised to do all that was reasonable, which feemed to import a limitation, as if they had apprehended, that unreasonable things might be asked of them: And the conclusion was in a very cold strain of rhetorick; they ended with faying, "They had no more to add." The Commons were more hearty in their address; and in the end of it, they reflected on some late practices against the church and state. Bromley was chosen speaker without any opposition; there were few whigs returned, against whom petitions were not offered; there were in all about an hundred; and by the first steps, the majority made it appear, that they intended to clear the house of all, who were suspected to be whigs. They passed the bill for four shillings in the pound, before the short recess at ciental Christmas. All mi new on no being and at ?

1711. The con-Spain cenfured by

During that time, the news came of the ill fuccess in Spain; and this giving a handle to examine into that part of our conduct, the Queen was advised to lay hold on it; so, without staying till she heard from her own Ministers or her allies, as was the Lords, usual, the laid the matter before the Parliament, as the publick news brought it from Paris; which was afterwards found to be false in many particulars; and told them, what orders she had given upon it, of which the hoped they would approve. This was a mean expression from the sovereign, not used in former messages; and seemed to be below the dignity of the Crown. She ordered fome regiments to be carried over to Spain, and named the Earl of Peterborough, to go to the court of Vienna, to press them to join in the most effectual measures, for supporting King Charles there. The Lords, in their answer to this message, promised that they would examine

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examine into the conduct of the war in Spain, to fee 1711. if there had been any milmanagement, in any part of it: And they entred immediately into that enquiry. They began it with an address to the Queen, to delay the dispatch of the Earl of Peterborough, till the House might receive from him such informations of the affairs of Spain, as he could give them. This was readily granted, and he gave the House a long recital of the affairs of Spain, loading the Earl of Gallway with all the miscarriages in that war. And in particular he faid, that in a council of war in Valencia, in the middle of January 1706-7, the tarl of Gallway had pressed the pushing an offenfive war for that year; and that the Lord Tyrawly and Stanhope had concurred with him in that: Whereas he himself was for lying on a defensive war for that year in Spain: He faid, this refolution was carried by those three, against the King of Spain's own mind; and he imputed all the mistortunes that followed in Spain, to this resolution so taken. Stanhope had given an account of the debates in that Council to the Queen; and the Earl of Sunderland, in answer to his letter, had wrote by the Queen's order, that the approved of their preffing for an offenfive war; and they were ordered to perfift in that. The Earl of Sunderland faid, in that letter, that the Queen took notice, that they three (meaning the Earl of Gallway, Lord Tyrawly, and Stanhope) were the only persons that were for acting offensively: And that little regard was to be had to the Earl of Peterborough's opposition. Upon the strength of this letter the Earl of Peterborough affirmed, that the whole Council of War was against an offensive war: He laid the blame, not only of the battle of Almanza, and all that followed in Spain, upon those resolutions, but likewise the miscarriage of the defign on Toulon; for he told them of a great defign, he had concerted with the Duke of Savoy, and of the use that might have been made of some of the troops in Spain, if a defensive war

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war had been agreed to there. The Earl of Gallway and the Lord Tyrawly were fent for; and they were asked an account of that Council at Valencia: They faid, there were many Councils held there about that time; and that both the Portugueze Ambaffador and General, and the Envoy of the States agreed with them in their opinions, for an offenfive wars, and they named fome Spaniards, that were of the same mind: They also said, that all along, even to the battle of Almanza, in all their resolutions, the majority of the Council of War voted for every thing that was done, and that they were directed to perfift in their opinions, by letters wrote to them, in the Queen's name, by the Secretaries of State: That as to the words, in the Earl of Sunderland's letter, that spoke of them, as the only persons that were of that opinion; these were understood by them, as belonging only to the Queen's subjects, and that they related more immediately to the Earl of Peterborough, who opposed that resolution, but not to the rest of the Council of War; for the majority of them was of their mind.

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The Earl of Gallway gave in two papers; the one related to his own conduct in Spain; the other was an answer to the relation given in writing by the Earl of Peterborough. The House of Lords was so disposed, that the majority believed every thing that was said by the Earl of Peterborough; and it was carried, that his account was honourable, saithful, and just; and that all the missortunes in Spain were the effect and consequence of those resolutions, taken in the middle of January.

From this censure on the Earl of Gallway, the debate was carried to that, which was chiefly aimed at, to put a censure on the Ministry here. So it was moved, that an address should be made to the Queen, to free those, who were under an oath of secrecy, from that tie, that a full account might be laid before the House, of all their consultations:

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The Queen granted this readily; and came to the 1711. House, which was understood to be on design to favour that, which was aimed at. Upon this the Duke of Marlborough, the Earls of Godolphin and Sunderland, and the Lord Cowper shewed that, confidering the force fent over to Spain under the Lord Rivers, they thought an offensive war was adviseable; that the expence of that war was fo great, and the prospect was so promising, that they could not but think an offensive war necessary; and that to advise a defensive one, would have made them liable to a just censure, as designing to protract the war. The delign on Toulon was no way intermixed with the affairs of Spain; the Earl of Peterborough fancied he was in that fecret, and had indeed proposed the bringing over some troops from Spain on that defign, and had offered a scheme to the Duke of Savoy, in which that was mentioned, and had fent that over to England. But though the Duke of Savoy suffered that Lord to amule himself, with his own project, which he had concerted for the attempt on Toulon; that Duke had declared he would not undertake it, if it was not managed with the utmost secrecy, which was facredly kept, and communicated only to those, to whom it must be trusted for the execution of it. No troops from Spain were to be imployed in that fervice, nor did it miscarry for want of men. These Lords farther faid, they gave their opinions in council, according to the best of their judgment, their intentions were very fincere, for the fervice of the Queen, and to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. Yet a vote passed, that they were to blame for advising an offensive war in Spain, upon which the loss of the battle of Almanza followed; and that this occasioned the miscarrying of the delign upon Toulon.

Here was a new and strange precedent, of cen- Reseasiluring a resolution taken in council; and of desiring ons made the Queen to order all, that had passed in council, to on it.

1711: be laid before the House: In all the hot debates in King Charles the First's reign, in which many resolutions taken in council were justly censurable, yet the passing any censure on them was never attempt. ed by men, who were no way partial in favour of the prerogative: But they understood well what our conftitution was in that point: A refolution in council was only the Sovereign's act, who, upon heating his counsellors deliver their opinions, forms his own resolution: A counsellor may indeed be liable to censure, for what he may say at that board; but the resolution taken there has been hitherto treated with a filent respect: But by this precedent, it will be hereafter subject to a parliamentary enquiry. The Queen was fo defirous to have a censure fixed on her former ministry, that she did not enough confider the wound given to the pre-

rogative, by the way in which it was done. After this was over, another enquiry was made into the force we had in Spain, at the time of the battle of Almanza; and it was found not to exceed 14000 men, though the Parliament had voted 2000 for the war in Spain. This feemed to be a erying thing; tragical declamations were made upon it: But in truth that vote had passed here only in the January before the battle of Almanza, which was fought on the 14th of April. Now it was not possible to levy and transport men in so short a time: It was made appear, that all the money, given by the Parliament for that fervice, was iffued out and applied to it, and that extraordinary diligence was used, both in forwarding the levies and in their transportation: They were fent from Ireland, the passage from thence being both fafest and quickest. All this, and a great deal more to the same purpose, was said: But it signified nothing; for when resolutions are taken up beforehand, the debating concerning them is only a piece of form, used to come at the question with fome decency: And there was fo little of that obferved ferved at this time, that the Duke of Buckingham 1711. faid in plain words, that they had the majority, and would make use of it, as he had observed done by others, when they had it on their fide. So, though no examination had been made, but into that fingle point of the numbers at Almanza, they came to a general vote, that the late Ministry had been negligent, in the management of the war in Spain, to the great prejudice of the nation; and they then ordered all their proceedings and votes to be put in an address, and laid before the Queen: And though they had made no enquiry into the expence of that war, nor into the application of the money, given by the Parliament for it, yet in their address they mentioned the great profusion of money in that fervice. This they thought would touch the nation very fenfibly; and they hoped the thing would be eafily believed on their word. Protests were made against every vote, in the whole progress of this matter: Some of these carried such reflections, on the votes of the House, that they were expunded.

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I never faw any thing carried on, in the House A strange of Lords, fo little to their honour as this was; way of some, who voted with the rest, seemed ashamed proceedof it: They faid, somewhat was to be done, to justify the Queen's change of the Ministry; and every thing elsewhere had been so well conducted, as to be above all censure: So the misfortune of Almanza, being a visible thing, they resolved to lay the load there. The management of the publick treasure was exact and unexceptionable: So that the fingle misfortune of the whole war was to be magnified; some were more easily drawn to concur in these votes, because by the act of grace, all those, who had been concerned in the administration, were covered from prosecution and punishment: So this was represented to some, as a compliment that would be very acceptable to the Queen, and by which no person could be hurt. They loaded fingly the Earl of Gallway, with the X 4

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1711. loss of the battle of Almanza, though it was refolved on in a council of war, and he had behaved himself in it, with all the bravery and conduct that could be expected from a great General, and had made a good retreat, and fecured Catalonia with inexpressible diligence. They also cenfured him for not infifting on the point of honour, in the precedence to be given to the English troops, as soon as the Portugueze army entered into Spain: But, by our treaty with that Crown, the army was to be commanded by a Portugueze General; fo it was not in his power to change the order of the army: If he had made the least struggle about it, the Portugueze, who were not eafily prevailed on to enter into Spain, would have gladly enough laid hold of any occasion, which such a dispute would have given them, and have turned back upon it: And fo by his infifting on fuch a punctilio, the whole defign would have been loft. We had likewise, in our treaty with them, yielded expressly the point of the flag in those seas, for which alone, on other occasions, we have engaged in wars; so he had no reason to contest a lesser point: Yet a censure was likewise laid on this. And this was the conclusion of the enquiries, made by the House of Lords this session.

Harley, in the House of Commons, led them to enquire into some abuses in the victualling the navy: They had been publickly practised for many years, some have said ever since the restoration: The abuse was visible, but connived at, that several expences might be answered that way: Some have said, that the Captains tables were kept out of the gain made in it. Yet a member of the House, who was a whig, was complained of for this, and expelled the House; and a prosecution was ordered against him: But the abuse goes on still, as avowedly as ever; here was a shew of zeal, and a seeming discovery of fraudulent practices, by which the nation was deceived.

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Some abuses censured in the House of Commons

The money did not come into the Treasury so 1711. readily as formerly, neither upon the act of four shillings in the pound, nor on the duty laid on Supplies malt: So, to raise a quick supply, there were two given for hills passed, for raising three millions and a last the war. bills passed, for raising three millions and a half by two lotteries, the first of 1,500,000 l. and the second of two millions, to be paid back in thirty-two years; and for a fund, to answer this, duties were laid on hops, candles, leather, cards and dice, and on the postage on letters. In one branch of this, the House of Commons seemed to break in upon a rule, that had hitherto passed for a sacred one. When the duty upon leather was first proposed, it was rejected by a majority, and fo, by their usual orders, it was not to be offered again, during that session: But after a little practice upon some members, the same duty was proposed, with this variation, that skins and tanned hides should be so charged; this was leather in another name. The lotteries were foon filled up; fo, by this means, money came into the Treasury: And indeed this method has never yet failed of raising a speedy supply. There was no more asked, though in the beginning of this fession, the House had voted a million more, than these bills amounted to; which made fome conclude, there was a fecret negotiation and prospect of a peace.

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As the Duke of Marlborough was involved in The Duke the general censure passed on the former Ministry, of Marl-so he had not the usual compliment of thanks for still comthe fuccesses of the former campaign: When that manded was moved in the House of Lords, it was opposed our arwith such eagerness by the Duke of Argyle and mies. others, that it was let fall: For this the Duke of Marlborough was prepared by the Queen; who, upon his coming over, told him that he was not to expect the thanks of the two Houses, as had been formerly: She added, that she expected he should live well with her Ministers, but did not think fit to fay any thing of the reasons she had, for making

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1711. those changes in her Ministry. Yet he shewed no refentments, for all the ill usage he met with; and, having been much preffed by the States and our other Allies, to continue in the command of the army, he told me, upon that account, he refolved to be patient, and to fubmit to every thing, in order to the carrying on the war; and finding the Queen's prepoffession against his Dutchess was not to be overcome, he carried a furrender of all her places to the Queen: She was Groom of the Stole, had the Robes, and the Privy Purfe, in all which, she had served with great ceconomy and fidelity to the Queen, and justice to those, who dealt with the Crown. The Dutchess of Somerset had the two first of these employments, and Mrs. Masham

Complaints upon the favour shewed the Palatines.

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had the laft.

The House of Commons found the encouragement given the Palatines, was fo displeasing to the people, that they ordered a committee to examine into that matter. The truth of this story was, that in the year 1708, about fifty Palatines, who were Lutherans, and were ruined, came over to England: These were so effectually recommended to Prince George's chaplains, that the Queen allowed them a shilling a-day, and took care to have them transported to the plantations: They, ravished with this good reception, wrote over such an account of it, as occasioned a general disposition among all the poor of that country to come over, in fearch of better fortunes: And fome of our babasas merchants, who were concerned in the plantations, and knew the advantage of bringing over great numbers to people those desert countries, encouraged them with the promifes of lands and fettlements there. This being printed, and spread through those parts, they came to Holland in great bodies: The Anabaptists there were particularly helpful to them, both in subsisting those in Holland, and in transporting them to England. Upon their coming over, the Queen relieved them at first; IF

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first; and great charities were fent to support them: All the tories declared against the good reception that was given them, as much as the whigs approved of it. It happened at a bad feafon, for bread was then fold at double the ordinary price; to the poor complained, that fuch charities went to support strangers, when they needed them so much? The time of our fleet's failing to the plantations was likewise at a great distance. The Palatines expected to be all kept together in a colony, and became very uneasy, when they saw that could not be compassed: Some of them were both unactive and mutinous; and this heightened the outery against them: Some Papifts mixed among them, and came over with them; but they were prefently lent back. Great numbers were fent to Ireland; but most of them to the plantations in North America, where it is believed their industry will quickly turn wa good account. The delign was now formed, to load the late Administration all that was possible; so it was pretended, that in all that affair, there was a defign against the Church, and to increase the numbers and strength of the Dissenters. It has indeed paffed for an established maxim, in all ages, and in all governments, that the drawing of numbers of people to any nation, did increase its intrinsick strength; which is only to be meafured, by the multitude of the people, that inhabit and cultivate it: Yet the House of Commons came to a fudden vote, that those who had encouraged and brought over the Palatines, were enemies to the nation: And, because a letter, wrote by the Earl of Sunderland, in the Queen's name, to the council of trade, was laid before them, by which they were ordered to confider of the best methods of disposing of them, it was moved to lay the load of that matter on him, in some severe votes: Yet this was put off for that time; and afterwards by feveral adjournments delay'd, till at last it was let fall. Another

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1711. repeal the general tion rejected by the Lords.

But while the heat, raised by this enquiry, was kept up; the Commons pass'd a bill to repeal the act for a generel naturalization of all Protestants. which had pass'd two years before; pretending naturaliza. that it gave the encouragement to the Palatines to come over, the none of them had made use of that act, in order to their naturalization. This was fent up to the Lords; and the Lord Guernsey, and some others, entertained them with tragical declamations on the subject; yet, upon the first reading of the Bill, it was rejected. A bill, that was formerly often attempted, for difabling members of the House of Commons to hold places had the fame fate: many desired offices I some the

lifying members to be chesen passed.

Abill qua- Another bill, for qualifying members, by having 600 l. a-year for a knight of the shire, and 3001. a-year for a burgels, succeeded better: The defign of this was to exclude courtiers, military men, and merchants, from fitting in the House of Commons, in hopes that this being fettled, the land interest would be the prevailing consideration, in all their confultations. They did not extend these qualifications to Scotland; it being pretended that estates there being generally small, it would not be easy to find men so qualified, capable to ferve. This was thought to strike at an effential part of our constitution, touching the freedom of elections: And it had been, as often as it was attempted, opposed by the Ministry; though it had a fair appearance of fecuring liberty, when all was lodged with men of estates: Yet our gentry was become so ignorant, and so corrupt, that many apprehended the ill effects of this; and that the interest of trade, which indeed supports that of the land, would neither be understood nor regarded. But the new Ministers resolved to be popular with those who promoted it; so it passed, and was much magnified, as a main part of our fecurity for the future. Let the flimith has proceeding performed

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Another bill passed, not much to the honour of 1711. those who promoted it, for the importation of the French wine: The interest of the nation lay against An act for this fo visibly, that nothing but the delicate partine lates of those, who loved that liquor, could have carried fuch a motion through the two houses. But, though the bill pals'd, it was like to have no effeet: For it was provided, that the wine should be imported in neutral veffels; and the King of France had forbid it to be exported, in any veffels but his own: it feems he reckoned, that our defire of drinking his wine, would carry us to take it on fuch terms, as he should prescribe. In the House of Commons there appeared a new combination of tories, of the highest form, who thought the court was yet in some management with the whigs, and did not come up to their heighth, which they imputed to Mr. Harley; so they began to form themselves in opposition to him, and expressed their jealousy of him on several occasions, fometimes publickly. But an odd accident, that An athad almost been fatal, proved happy to him; it tempt on fell out on the 8th of March the day of the Queen's Harley by accession to the Crown: One Guiscard, who was an abbot in France, had for fome enormous crimes made his escape out of that kingdom; he printed a formal flory of a delign he was laying, to raise a general infurrection in the fouthern parts of France (in conjunction with those, who were then up in the Cevennes) for recovering their ancient liberties, as well as for restoring the edicts in favour of the Huguenots: And he feemed very zealous for publick liberty. He infinuated himself so into the Duke of Savoy, that he recommended him to our court, as a man capable of doing great fervice: He feemed forward to undertake any thing, that he might be put on; he had a pension assigned him for some years, but it did not answer his expence; so when he was out of hope of getting it increased, he wrote to one at the Court of France,

1711. to offer his service there; and it was thought, he had a defign against the Queen's person; for he had tried, by all the ways that he could contrive, to be admitted to speak with her in private; which he had attempted that very morning: but his letter being opened at the post-house, and brought to the cabinet council, a messenger was fent from the council, to feize on him. He found him walking in St. James Park; and having difarmed him, carried him to the Lords, who were then fitting: As he waited without, before he was called in, he took up a penknife, which lay among pens in a ftandish; when he was questioned upon his letter, he defired to fpeak in private with Secretary St. John, who refused it; and he being placed out of his reach, whereas Harley fate near him, he struck him in the breast with the penknife, again and again, till it broke; and indeed wounded him as much as could be done, with fo fmall a tool. The other counsellors drew their fwords, and stabbed Guiscard in several places; and their attendants being called in, they dragged him out. Harley's wound was presently searched; it appeared to be a flight one, yet he was long in the furgeon's hands: fome imputed this to an ill habit of body; others thought it was an artifice, to make it feem more dangerous than indeed it was. Guiscard's wounds were deeper, and not eastly managed; for at first he was fullen, and seemed refolved to die; yet after a day, he submitted himfelf to the furgeons: But did not complain of a wound in his back, till it gangreened; and of

> This accident was of great use to Harley; for the party formed against him, was ashamed to push a man, who was thus assassinated by one, that was studying to recommend himself to the Court of France, and who was believed to have formed a

> that he died. It was not known, what particulars

were in his letter, for various reports went of it;

nor was it known what he confessed.

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defign against the Queen's person. Her health 1711. was at this time much shaken. She had three fits of an ague; the last was a severe one: but the progress of the disease was stopped by the bark.

The tories continued still to pursue the memory A design of King William; they complained of the grants against King Wilmade by him, though these were far short of those, ham's that had been made by King Charles the fecond; grants but that they might distinguish between those miscarries. whom they intended to favour, and others, against whom they were let, they brought in a bill, empowering some persons to examine all the grants made by him, and to report both the value of them, and the confiderations upon which they were made: This was the method, that had succeeded with them before, with relation to Ireland; so the bringing in this bill was looked on, as a fure step, for carrying the resumption of all the grants, that they had a mind to make void. When it was brought up to the Lords, the defign appeared to be an unjust malice against the memory of our deliverer, and against those, who had served him best; so upon the first reading of the bill, it was rejected.

Their malice turned next against the Earl of Enquiries Godolphin: They found, that the supplies given accounts. by Parliament were not all returned, and the accounts of many millions were not yet passed in the Exchequer; so they passed a vote, that the accounts of thirty-five millions yet stood out. This was a vast sum; but to make it up, some accounts in King Charles's time were thrown into the heap; the Lord Ranelagh's accounts of the former reign were the greatest part; and it appeared, that in no time accounts were fo regularly brought up, as in the Queen's reign. Mr. Bridges's accounts, of fourteen or fifteen millions, were the great item, of which, not above half a million was passed: But there were accounts of above eleven millions brought in, though not pass'd in form, through the great

1711. caution and exactness of the Duke of Newcastle. at whose office they were to pass; and he was very flow, and would allow nothing, without hearing counsel on every article. The truth is, the methods of passing accounts were so sure, that they were very flow; and it was not possible for the proper officers to find time and leifure to pass the accounts that were already in their hands. Upon this, though the Earl of Godolphin had managed the treasury, with an uncorruptness, fidelity, and diligence, that were fo unexceptionable, that it was not possible to fix any censure on his adminiftration; yet, because many accounts stood out, they passed some angry votes on that: But since nothing had appeared, in all the examination they had made, that reflected on him, or on any of the whigs, they would not confent to the motion that was made, for printing that report; for by that, it would have appeared, who had ferved well, and who had ferved ill.

When this fession drew near an end, some were concerned to find that a body, chosen so much by the zeal and influence of the clergy, should have done nothing for the good of the church; so it being apparent, that in the suburbs of London, there were about 200,000 people more, than could possibly worship God in the churches built there, upon a message to them from the Queen (to which the rise was given by an address to her from the Convocation) they voted that sifty more churches should be built; and laid the charge of it upon that part of the duty on coals, that had been reserved for building of St. Paul's, which was now

finished.

The DauIn the beginning of April, the Dauphin and the phin's Emperor both died of the small pox; the first on death, and the third, the second on the sixth of the month: the Emperor's.

Time will shew what insuence the one or the other will have on publick affairs. The Electors were all resolved to chuse King Charles Emperor. A

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hitle before the Emperor's death, two great affairs 1711. were fully fettled; the differences between that Court and the Duke of Savoy were compoled, to the Duke's satisfaction: The other was of more importance; offers of amnesty and concessions were fent to the malecontents in Hungary, with which they were so well fatisfied, that a full peace was like to follow on it: And, lest the news of the Emperor's death should be any stop to that settlement, it was kept up from them, till a body of 10,000 came in and delivered up their arms, with the fort of Caffaw, and took an oath of obedience to King Charles, which was the first notice they had of Joseph's death.

The effects of this will probably go farther, than War barely to the quieting of Hungary: For the King breaking of Sweden, the Crim Tartar, and the agents of out be-France had so animated the Turks against the Turk and Mulcovites; that the the Sultan had no mind to the Czar. engage in a new war, till the affairs of that empire should be put in a better state; yet he was lo apprehensive of the Janizaries, that, much against his own inclinations, he was brought to declare war against the Czar: But both the Czar and he seemed inclined to accept the mediation, that was offered by England and by the States; to which very probably the Turks may the more easily be brought, when they fee no hope of any advantage to be made,

from the distractions in Hungary. It did not yet appear, what would be undertaken on either fide in Spain: King Philip had not yet opened the campaign; but it was given out, that great preparations were made for a flege: On the other hand, King Charles had great re-inforcements lent him; fo that his force was reckoned not interior to King Philip's! Nor was it yet known, what resolutions he had taken, fince he received the news of the Emperor's death.

The campaign was now opened on both fides in the Netherlands, though later than was intended: MOVOL. IV.

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1711. The feafon continued long fo rainy, that all the ways in those parts were impracticable: Nothing was yet attempted on either fide; both armies lay near one another; and both were so well posted. that no attack was yet made: And this was the present state of affairs abroad, at the end of May. At home Mr. Harley was created Earl of Oxford, and then made Lord High Treasurer, and had now the supreme favour: The session of Parliament was not yet at an end. There had been a great project carried on, for a trade into the South Sea; and a fund was projected, for paying the interest of nine millions, that were in arrear for our marine affairs.

The Convocation met.

adjusts enough to be From our temporal concerns, I turn to give an account of those, which related to the church: The Convocation of the province of Canterbury was opened, the 25th of November, the same day in which the Parliament met: And Atterbury was chosen Prolocutor. Soon after, the Queen sent a licence to the Convocation, empowering them to enter upon such consultations, as the present state of the church required, and particularly to confider of fuch matters, as she should lay before them; limiting them to a quorum, that the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, or the Bishop of Bath and Wells should be present, and agree to their resolutions. With this licence, there was a letter directed to the Archbishop, in which the Convocation was ordered to lay before the Queen an account of the late excessive growth of infidelity and herefy among us; and to confider how to redrefs abuses in excommunications; how rural deans might be made more effectual; how terriers might be made and preserved more exactly; and how the abuses in licences for marriage might be corrected.

Exceptions to the licence fent them.

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In this whole matter, neither the Archbishop nor any of the Bishops were so much as confulted with; and fome things in the licence were new: The Archbishop was not named the Presile

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dent of the Convocation, as was usual in former licences; and in these, the Archbishop's presence and confent alone was made necessary except in case of fickness, and then the Archbishop had named some Bishops to preside, as his commissaries: And in that cale, the Convocation was limited to his commissaries, which still lodged the presidentship and the negative with the Archbishop: This was according to the primitive pattern, to limit the clergy of a province to do nothing, without the confent of the Metropolitan; but it was a thing new and unheard-of, to limit the Convocation to any of their own body, who had no deputation from the Archbishop. So a report of this being made, by a committee that was appointed to fearch the records, it was laid before the Queen: And she fent us a meffage to let us know, that she did not intend, that those whom she had named to be of the quorum, should either preside or have a negative upon our deliberations, though the contrary was plainly infinuated in the licence. The Archbishop was so ill of the gout, that after our first meetings, he could come no more to us; to was the Bishop of London: Upon which, the Bishop of Bath and Wells, feeing how invidiously he was diffinguished from his brethren, in which he had not been consulted, pretended ill health; and we were at a stand, till a new licence was tent us, in which the Bishops of Winchester, Bristol, and St. Davids A new liwere added to be of the quorum. The two last cence. were newly confecrated, and had been in ho functions in the church before: So the Queen not only passed over all the Bishops, made in King William's reign, but a great many of those named by herself, and set the two last in a distinction above all their brethren. All this was directed by Atterbury, who had the confidence of the chief Minister; and because the other Bishops had maintained a good correspondence with the former Ministry, it was thought fit to put marks of the Y 2 Queen's

Queen's distrust upon them, that it might appear, 1711. with whom her royal favour and trust was lodged. The convocation entred on the confideration of

A reprefentation drawn for

the matters referred to them by the Queen: And the Queen, a committee was appointed, to draw a representation of the present state of the church, and of religion among us; but after some heads were agreed on, Atterbury procured, that the drawing of this might be left to him: And he drew up a most virulent declamation, defaming all the administration from the time of the revolution: Into this he brought many impious principles and practices, that had been little heard of or known, but were now to be published, if this should be laid before the Queen. The lower house agreed to his draught; but the Bishops laid it aside, and ordered another representation to be drawn, in more general and more modest terms. It was not settled, which of these draughts should be made use of, or whether any representation at all should be made to the Queen: For it was known, that the defign in asking one was only to have an aspersion cast, both on the former Ministry and on the former reign. Several provisions were prepared, with relation to the other particulars in the Queen's letter: But none of these were agreed to by both houses.

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Whiston revived Arianism.

An incident happened, that diverted their thoughts to another matter: Mr. Whiston, the professor of Mathematicks in Cambridge, a learned man, of a fober and exemplary life, but much fet on hunting for paradoxes, fell on the reviving the Arian Herefy, though he pretended to differ from Arius, in several particulars: Yet upon the main he was partly Apollinarift, partly Arian; for he thought the Nous or Word was all the foul that acted in our Saviour's body. He found his notions favoured by the apostolical constitutions; so he reckoned them a part, and the chief part of the canon of the scriptures. For these tenets, he was censured at Cambridge, and expelled the university: Upon

that, he wrote a vindication of himself and his doctrine, and dedicated it to the Convocation, promiling a larger work on these subjects. The uncontested way of proceeding in such a case was, that the Bishop of the diocese, in which he lived, should cite him into his court, in order to his conviction or centure, from whose sentence an appeal lay to the Archbishop, and from him to the Crown: Or the Archbishop might proceed in the first instance in a court of audience: But we faw no clear precedents, of any proceedings in Convocation, where the jurildiction was contested; a reference made by the high commission to the Convocation, where the party submitted to do penance, being the only precedent that appeared in history; and even of this we had no record: So that it not being thought a clear warrant for our proceeding, we were at a ftand. The act, that fettled the course of appeals in King Henry the eighth's time, made no mention of fentences in Convocation; and yet, by the act in the first of Queen Elizabeth, that defined what should be judged herely, that judgment was declared to be in the Crown: By all this (which the Archbishop laid before the Bishops in a letter, that he wrote to them on this occasion) it teemed doubtful, whether the Convocation could, in the first instance, proceed against a man for herely: And their proceedings, if they were not warranted by law, might involve them in a præmunire. So the upper house, in an address, prayed the Queen to ask the opinions of the judges, and fuch others, as she thought fit, concerning these doubts, that they might know how the law stood in this matter.

Eight of the judges, with the attorney and fo- rent opilicitor-general, gave their opinion, that we had a nions of jurisdiction, and might proceed in such a case; but the judges brought no express law nor precedent to support ing the their opinion: They only observed, that the law-power of books spoke of the Convocation, as having jurist the Con-

The diffediction; vocation.

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The HISTORY of the Reign

1711. diction, and they did not see that it was ever taken from them: They were also of opinion, that an appeal lay from the fentence of Convocation to the Crown; but they referved to themselves a power to change their mind, in case, upon an argument that might be made for a prohibition, they should see cause for it. Four of the judges were politively of a contrary opinion, and maintained it from the statutes made at the reformation. The Queen, having received these different opinions, fent them to the Archbishop, to be laid before the two houses of Convocation; and, without taking any notice of the diversity between them, she wrote that, there being now no doubt to be made of our judisdiction, she did expect, that we should proceed in the matter before us. In this it was visible, that those who advised the Queen to write that letter, confidered more their own humours than her honour. Yet two great doubts still remained, even supposing we had a jurisdiction: The first was, of whom the court was to be composed; whether only of the Bishops, or what share the lower house had in this judiciary authority: The other was, by what delegates, in case of an appeal, our fentence was to be examined: Were no Bishops to be in the court of delegates? or was the sentence of the Archbishop and his twentyone fuffragan Bishops, with the clergy of the province, to be judged by the Archbishop of York and his three suffragan Bishops? These difficulties appearing to be fo great, the Bishops resolved to begin with that, in which they had, by the Queen's licence, an undisputable authority; which was to examine and cenfure the book, and to fee if his doctrine was not contrary to the Scriptures, and the first four General Councils, which is the meafure fet by law, to judge herefy. They drew out Whiston's some propositions from his book, which seemdoctrines ed plainly to be the reviving of Arianism; and condemned. cenfured them as such. These they sent down to

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the Lower House, who, though they excepted to 1711. one proposition, yet consured the rest in the same manner. This the Archbishop (being then disabled by the gout) fent by one of the Bishops to the Queen for her affent, who promifed to confider of it: But to end the matter at once, at their next meeting in winter, no answer being come from the Queen, two Bishops were sent to ask it; but she could not tell what was become of the paper, which the Archbishop had sent her; so a new extract of the centure was again lent to her: But the has not yet thought fit to fend any answer to it. So Whifton's affair fleeps, though he has published a large work in four volumes in octavo, justifying his doctrine, and maintaining the canonicalness of the apofolical constitutions, preferring their authority not only to the epiftles, but even to the gospels. In this last I do not find he has made any proselytes, though he has fet himself much to support that pawere Illir tatisfied with this ac-xobar

The Lower House would not enter into the consideration of the representation, sent down to them by the Bithops; to none was agreed on, to be prefented to the Queen: But both were printed, and levere reflections were made, in leveral tracts, on that which was drawn by the Lower House, or rather by Atterbury. The Bishops went through all the matters, recommended to them by the Queen; and drew up a scheme of regulations on them all: But neither were these agreed to, by the Lower House; for their spirits were so exasperated, that nothing fent by the Bishops could be agreeable to them. At last the session of Parliament and Convocation came to an end.

The last thing settled by the Parliament was, the An act for creating a new fund for a trade in the South Sea: the South-There was a great debt upon the navy, occasioned Sea trade. partly, by the deficiency of the funds appointed for the service at sea, but chiefly by the necessity of applying luch supplies as were given, without appropriating dences,

1711. priating clauses, to the service abroad; where it was impossible to carry it on by credit, without ready money, to it was judged necessary to let the debt of the navy run on upon credit: This had rifen up to feveral millions; and the discount on the navy-bills ran high. All this debt was thrown into one stock; and a fund was formed, for paying the interest at 6 per Cent.

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Reflections on the old Ministry fully clear-

The flatterers of the new Ministers made great use of this, to magnify them, and to asperse the old Ministry: But a full report of that matter was foon. after published, by which it appeared, that the publick money had been managed with the utmost fidelity and frugality; and it was made evident, that when there was not money enough to answer all the expence of the war, it was necessary to apply it to that, which pressed most, and where the service could not be carried on by credit: So this debt was contracted by an inevitable necessity; and all reasonable persons were fully satisfied with this account of the matter. The Earl of Godolphin's unblemished integrity was such, that no imputation of any fort could be fastened on him; so, to keep up a clamour, they reflected on the expence he had run the nation into, upon the early successes in the year 1706; which were very justly acknowledged, and cleared in the fucceeding session, as was formerly told: But that was now revived; and it was faid to be an invalion of the great right of the Commons in giving lupplies, to enter on defigns and to engage the nation in an expence, not provided for by Par-This was aggravated, with many tragical expressions, as a subversion of the constitution; so with this, and that of the thirty-five millions, of which the accounts were not yet passed, and some other particulars, they made an inflaming address to the Queen, at the end of the sessions. And this was artificially spread through the nation, by which weaker minds were so possessed, that it was not easy to undeceive them, even by the fullest and clearest evidences; the nation seemed still infatuated beyond 1711. the power of conviction. With this the session ended, and all considering persons had a very melancholy prospect, when they saw what might be apprehended from the two sessions, that were yet to come of the same Parliament.

I now turn to affairs abroad. The business of Affairs in Spain had been fo much preffed from the throne, Spain. and fo much infifted on all this fession, and the Commons had given 1,500,000 l. for that fervice (a fum far beyond all that had been granted in any preceding fession) to that it was expected, matters would have been carried there in another manner than formerly. The Duke of Argyle was fent to command the Queen's troops there, and he feemed full of heat: But all our hopes failed. The Duke of Vendome's army was in fo ill a condition, that if Starembergh had been supported, he promifed himself great advantages: It does not yet appear what made this to fail; for the Parliament has not yet taken this into examination. It is certain the Duke of Argyle did nothing; neither he nor his troops were once named, during the whole campaign; he wrote over very heavy complaints, that he was not supported, by the failing of the remittances, that he expected: But what ground there was for that, does not yet appear: for, though he afterwards came over, he was very filent, and feemed in a good understanding with the Ministers. Starembergh drew out his forces; and the two armies lay for some time looking on one another, without coming to any action: Vendome ordered a fiege to be laid to two small places, but without success. That of Cardona was persisted in obstinately, till near the end of December, and then Starembergh fent fome bodies to raife the fiege, who fucceeded so well in their attempt, that they killed 2000 of the beliegers, and forced their camp; so that they not only raised the fiege, but made themselves masters of the enemies artillery, ammunition, and baggage; and the Duke

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Duke of Vendome's army was fo diminished, that if Starembergh had received the affiftance, which he expected from England, he would have pierced far into Spain. But we did nothing, after all the zeal The elec- we had expressed for retrieving matters on that side.

tion of King be Emperor.

The Emperor's death, as it presently opened to King Charles the fuccession to the hereditary domi-Charles to nions; fo a disposition appeared unanimously, among all the Electors, to chuse him Emperor: Yet he staid in Barcelona till September; and then leaving his Queen behind, to support his affairs in Spain, he failed over to Italy: He staid some weeks at Milan, where the Duke of Savoy came to him; and we were told, that all matters in debate were adjusted between them. We hoped this campaign would have produced somewhat in those parts, of advantage to the common cause, upon the agreement made before the Emperor Joseph's death. And Mr. St. John, when he moved in the House of Commons, for the subsidies to the Duke of Savoy, faid, all our hopes of fuccess this year lay in that quarter; for in Flanders we could do nothing. The Duke came into Savoy, and it was given out that he was refolved to press forward; but upon what views, it was not then known, he stopped his course; and after a short campaign, repassed the mountains.

The election of the Emperor came on at Francfort, where some Electors came in person, others sent their deputies; some weeks were spent in preparing the capitulations; great applications were made to them, to receive deputies from the Electors of Bavaria and Cologne; but they were rejected, for they were under the Ban of the empire; nor were they pleased, with the interpolition of the Pope's Nuntio, who gave them much trouble in that matter; but they perfifted in refuling to admit them. Francfort lay so near the frontier of the empire, that it was apprehended, the French might have made an attempt that way; for they drew some detach-

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ments from their army in Flanders, to encrease their 1711. forces on the Rhine. This obliged Prince Eugene, after he, in conjunction with the Duke of Marlborough, had opened the campaign in Flanders, to draw off a detachment from thence, and march with it towards the Rhine; and there he commanded the imperial army; and came in good time, to fecure the Electors at Francfort; who being now lafe, from the fear of any infult, went on flowly in all that they thought fit to propole, previous to an election; and concluded unanimously to chuse Charles, who was now declared Emperor by the name of Charles the Sixth: He went from Milan to Inspruck, and from thence to Francfort, where he was crowned with the usual solemnity. Thus that matter was happily ended, and no action happened on the Rhine all this campaign.

The Duke of Marlborough's army was not only TheDuke weakened by the detachment, that Prince Eugene of Marlcarried to the Rhine, but by the calling over 5000 borough men of the best bodies of his army, for an expedi- French tion deligned by fea; fo that the French were fupe-lines. rior to him in number: They lay behind lines, that were looked on as to ftrong, that the forcing them was thought an impracticable thing; and it was faid, that Villars had wrote to the French King, that he had put a Ne plus ultra to the Duke of Marlborough: But, contrary to all expectation, he did to amuse Villars with seint motions, that at last, to the surprize of all Europe, he passed the lines near Bouchain, without the loss of a man.

This railed his character, beyond all that he had done formerly; the defign was fo well laid, and was to happily executed, that in all mens opinions, it passed for a master-piece of military skill; the honour of it falling entirely on the Duke of Marlborought no other person having any share, except in the execution. When our army was now so happily got within the French lines, the Dutch deputies proposed the attacking the French, and venturing a battle.

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battle, fince this furprize had put them in no fmall disorder. The Duke of Marlborough differed from them, he thought there might be too much danger in that attempt; the Army was much fatigued with fo long a march, in which their cavalry had been eight and forty hours on horfe-back, alighting only twice, about an hour at a time, to feed their horses; for they marched eleven leagues in one day: The French were fresh; and our army was in no condition to enter upon action, till fome time was allowed for refreshment: And the Duke of Marlborough thought that, in case of a misfortune, their being within the French lines might be fatal.

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He befieged Bouchain.

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He proposed the besieging Bouchain; which he thought might oblige the French to endeavour to raile the fiege; and that might give occasion to their fighting on more equal terms; or it would bring both a difreputation and a disheartening on -half their army, if a place of fuch importance should be taken in their fight : Both the Dutch deputies and the general officers thought the defign was too bold, yet they submitted to him in the matter: It seemed impracticable to take a place, fituated in a morafs, well fortified, with a good garrison in it, in the fight of a superior army; for the French lay within a mile of them: There was also great danger from the excursions, that the garrisons of Valenciennes and Condé might make, to cut off their provisions, which were to come to them from Tournay. All about the Duke studied to divert him from fo dangerous an undertaking; fince a misfortune in his conduct would have furnished his enemies with the advantages, that they waited for. He was sensible of all this, yet he had laid the scheme so well, that he resolved to venture on it: The French tried to throw more men into the place, by a narrow causeway through the morals, but he took his measures so well, that he was guarded against every thing: He saw what the event of the fiege might be; so he bestirred himself with

1711.

with unufual application, and was more fatigued in the course of this siege, than he had been at any time, during the whole war. He carried on the trenches, and by his batteries and bombs the place was foon laid in ruins. Villars feemed to be very buly, but to no purpole; yet, feeing he could not raife the fiege, he tried to surprize Doway; but they discovered the design, and forced the body that was fent thither, to retreat in all hafte. After twenty days, from the opening the trenches, the garrison of Bouchain capitulated; and could have And took no better terms than to be made prisoners of war. 11. As this was reckoned the most extraordinary thing in the whole history of the war, fo the honour of it was acknowledged to belong wholly to the Duke of Marlborough; as the blame of a miscarriage in it must have fallen fingly on him. Villars's conduct on this occasion was much censured; but it was approved by the King of France: And with this the campaign ended in those parts.

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No action happened at fea, for the French had An expeno fleet out: An expedition was defigned by fea dition by for taking Quebec and Placentia; and for that end, fea to Ca-5000 men were brought from Flanders: Hill, who was brother to the favourite, had the command. There was a ftrong squadron of men of war ordered, to fecure the transport fleet; they were furnished from hence with provisions, only for three months; but they defigned to take in a fecond supply at New England. A commissioner of the victualling then told me, he could not guess what made them be fent out fo ill furnished; for they had stores, lying on their hands, for a full fupply. They failed, foon after the end of the Session, and had a quick passage to New England; but were forced to stay many weeks on that coast, before they could be supplied with provisions: They failed near the end of August into the river of Canada, which was thirty miles broad: But they were ill ferved with pilots; and at that featon

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It miscarried.

1711. Storms were ordinary in those parts: One of these broke upon them, by which feveral ships were overfet, and about 2500 men were loft. Thus the defign of Quebeck miscarried; and their provisions were too fcanty, to venture an attempt on Placentia: So they returned home unprosperous.

This was a great mortification to the new Miniftry; it being their first undertaking, ill projected, and worse executed, in every step of it: It was the more liable to cenfure, because at the very time, that the old Ministry were charged with entring on defigns, that had not been laid before the Parliament, and for which no supplies had been given, they projected this, even while a Seffion was yet going on, without communicating it to the Parliament; whereas, what the former Ministry had done this way, was upon emergents, and fuccesses, after the end of the Seffion: But this matter has not yet been brought under a parliamentary examination, fo the discoveries, that may be made if that happens, must be referred to their proper place. This was the state of our affairs during this campaign; the merchants complained of great loffes made at fea, by the ill management of convoys and cruizers.

The war between the Turk and the Czar came to a quick end: The Czar advanced with his army so far into Moldavia, that he was cut off from his provisions: An engagement followed, in which both fides pretended they had the advantage. It is certain, the Czar found he was reduced to great extremities; for he proposed, in order to a peace, to furrender Azuph, with fome other places, and demanded that the King of Sweden might be fent home to his own country. The Grand Vizier was glad to arrive at fo speedy a conclusion of the war; and, notwithstanding the great opposition made by the King of Sweden, he concluded a peace with the Muscovite, not without suspicion of his being corrupted by money to it. The King of Sweden being attitott

ing highly offended at this, charged the Grand Vi- 1711. zier, for neglecting the great advantages he had over the Czar, fince he and his whole army were at mercy; and he prevailed fo far at the Port, that upon it the Grand Vizier was deposed, and there was an appearance of a war ready to break out the next year: For the Czar delayed the rendring Azuph and the other places agreed to be delivered up; pretending that the King of Sweden was not fent home, according to agreement; yet to prevent a new war, all the places were at length delivered up: What effect this may have, must be left to farther time. in sin sinced bear, is tales

Towards the end of the year the Danes and And in Saxons broke in by concert upon Pomerania, re- Pomerafolving to beliege Stralzund; but every thing neceffary for a fiege came to flowly from Denmark, that no progress was made, though the troops lay near the place, for some months; and in that time the Swedes landed a confiderable body of men in the isle of Rugen: At last the besiegers, being in want of every thing, were forced to raife the fiege, and and to retire from that neighbourhood, in the beginning of January. They fate down next before Wifmar, but that attempt likewife miscarried, which rendered the conduct of the King of Denmark very contemptible; who thus obstinately carried on a war (at a time that a plague swept away a third part of the people of Copenhagen) with as little conduct as fuccess. Having thus given a thort view of affairs abroad;

I come next to give the best account I can, of a Harley lecret and important transaction at home: The made an Ministers now found, how hard it was to restore Earl, and credit, and by consequence to carry on the war; Treasurer Mr. Harley's wound gave the Queen the occasion, which she seemed to be waiting for; upon his recovery the had created him an Earl, by a double utle, of Oxford and Mortimer. Preambles to patents of honour usually carry in them a short ac-

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vices of the person advanced: But his preamble was very pompous, and set him out in the most extravagant characters that slatterers could invent; in particular it said, that he had redeemed the nation from robbery, had restored credit, and had rendered the publick great service in a course of many years: All this was set out in too sulsome rhetorick, and being prepared by his own direction, pleased him so much, that whereas all other patents had been only read in the House of Lords, this was printed. He was at the same time made Lord Treasurer, and became the chief, if not sole Minister, for every thing was directed by him. It

parties, and in engaging weak people by rewards and promises, to depend upon him; but that he neither thoroughly understood the business of the treasury, nor the conduct of foreign affairs. But he trusted to his interest in the Queen and in the

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Negotiations for a peace with France.

He faw the load, that the carrying on the war must bring upon him; so he resolved to strike up a peace as foon as was possible. The Earl of Jersey had some correspondence in Paris and at St. Germains, fo he trusted the conduct of the negotiation to him. The Duke of Newcastle, who was Lord Privy Seal, died of an apoplexy in July, being the richelt fubject that had been in England for some ages; he had an estate of above 40,000 l. a year, and was much let on increasing it. Upon his death, it was refolved, to give the Earl of Jersey the Privy Seal; but he died fuddenly the very day in which it was to be given him; upon that it was conferred on Robinson, Bishop of Bristol, who was designed to be the Plenipotentiary in the treaty that was projected. One Prior, who had been Jersey's lecretary, upon his death, was employed to profecute that, which the other did not live to finish. Prior had been taken a boy out of a tavern, by the Earl ft

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of Dorfet, who accidentally found him reading Ho- 1711. race; and he, being very generous, gave him an education in literature: He was fent to the court of France in September, to try on what terms we might expect a peace; his journey was carried on fecretly; but upon his return, he was stopt at Dover; and a packet, that he brought, was kept, till an order came from Court to fet him free: And by this accident the fecret broke out. Soon after that, one Meinager was lent over from France, with preliminaries; but very different from those, that had been concerted at the Hague, two years before. The ancient and a sense before a more and a more

By these, the King of France offered, to ac- Prelimiknowledge the Queen, and the succession to the naries of-Crown, according to the present settlement; and fered by France. that he would bona fide enter into fuch measures, that the Crowns of France and Spain should never belong to the same person; that he would settle a fafe and proper barrier to all the Allies; that he would raze Dunkirk, provided an equivalent should be given, for destroying the fortifications, he had made there, at fo great an expence; and that he would procure both to England and to the States the re-establishing of their commerce. The Court was then at Windsor: These propositions were so well entertained at our Court, that a copy of them was ordered to be given to Count Gallas, the Emperor's Minister; he treated these offers with much forn, and printed the preliminaries in one of our news-papers; foon after that, he was ordered to come no more to Court, but to make hafte out of England out od blowed that old town it ror

The proceeding was fevere and unufual; for Count the common method, when a provocation was Gallas given by a publick Minister, was to complain of fent away him to his master, and to desire him to be recalled. it was not then known upon what this was grounded; that which was furmized was, that his Secretary Gaultier (who was a Prieft) betrayed him; VOL. IV.

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and discovered his secret correspondence, and the advertisements he sent the Emperor, to give him ill impressions of our Court; for which treachery he was rewarded with an abbey in France: But of

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Earl of Strafford fent Ambaffador to Holland.

When our Court was resolved on this project; they knew the Lord Townshend so well, that they could not depend on his ferving their ends; fo he was both recalled and difgraced: And the Lord Raby was brought from the Court of Pruffia, and advanced to be Earl of Strafford, and fent Ambassador to Holland. It was not then known, how far our Court carried the negotiations with France; it was not certain, whether they only accepted of these preliminaries, as a foundation for a treaty, to be opened upon them; or if any private promife or treaty was figned: This last was very positively given out, both in France and Spain. The very treating, without the concurrence of our Allies, was certainly an open violation of our alliances, which had expressly provided against any such negotiation. Chaptered on the voules for

Many libels against the Allies.

Many mercenary pens were fet on work, to juftify our proceedings, and to defame our Allies, more particularly the Dutch; this was done with much art, but with no regard to truth, in a pamphlet, entitled the Conduct of the Allies, and of the late Ministry; to which very full answers were written, detecting the thread of falshood, that ran through that work. It was now faid, England was so exhausted, that it was impossible to carry on the war: And when King Charles was chosen Emperor, it was also said, he would be too great and too dangerous to all his neighbours, if Spain were joined to the Emperor and to the hereditary domident away nions: It was also zealously, though most falsely, · no arew. infused into the minds of the people, that our Algrace, lies, most particularly the Dutch, had imposed on us, and failed us on many occasions. The Jacobites did, with the greater joy entertain this profpect and

pect of peace, because the Dauphin had, in a visit 1711. to St: Germains, congratulated that Court upon it; which made them conclude, that it was to have a happy effect, with relation to the Pretender's affairs.

Our Court denied this; and fent the Earl of Earl Rivers to Hanover, to assure the Elector, that the Rivers Queen would take especial care, to have the succeffion to the Crown fecured to his family, by the but fuctreaty that was to be opened: This made little im-ceeded pression on that Elector; for he saw clearly, that if not. Spain and the West-Indies were left to King Philip, the French would foon become the superior power to all the rest of Europe; that France would keep Spain in subjection, and by the wealth they would fetch from the Indies, they would give law to all about them, and fet what King they pleafed on the throne of England. Earl Rivers staid a few days there, and brought an answer from the Elector in writing; yet the Elector apprehended, not without reason, that it might be stifled; therefore he ordered his Minister to give a full memorial, to the fame purpose, of which our Court took no notice: But the memorial was translated and printed here, to the great satisfaction of all those, who were afraid of the ill defigns, that might be hid, under the pretence of the treaty then propoled.

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The Earl of Strafford pressed the States, to com- The ply with the Queen's desire, of opening a treaty: States are They answered very flowly, being defirous to see forced to open a how the Parliament was inclined; but the Parlia-treaty. ment was prorogued from the 13th to the 29th of November, and from that to the 7th of December. It was also reported in Holland, that the Earl of Strafford (feeing the States flow in granting the paffports, and upon that apprehending these delays flowed from their expecting to fee, how the Parliament of England approved of these steps) told them plainly, that till they agreed to a treaty, and granted the passports, the Session should not be opened: So they granted them, and left the

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time and place of treaty to the Queen's determination. She named Utrecht as the place of congress, and the first of January, O. S. for opening it; and wrote a circular letter to all the Allies, inviting them to fend Plenipotentiaries to that place. The Emperor fet himfelf vehemently to oppose the progress of this matter; he sent Prince Eugene, to diffuade the States from agreeing to it, and offered a new scheme of the war, that should be easier to the Allies, and lie heavier on himself: But the passports were now fent to the Court of France; that Court demanded passports likewise, for the Plenipotentiaries of King Philip, and of the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn: This was offered by our Court to the States, they refused it, but whether our Ministers then agreed to it or not, I cannot tell.

Endeavours used by the Court before they opened the Parliament.

Before the opening the Session, pains were taken on many persons, to persuade them to agree to the measures the Court were in; the Duke of Marlborough, upon his coming over, spoke very plainly to the Queen against the steps, that were already made; but he found her fo possessed, that what he faid made no impression, so he defired to be excused from coming to council, since he must oppose every step, that was made in that affair. Among others, the Queen spoke to myfelf; she faid, she hoped Bishops would not be against peace: I said, a good peace was what we prayed daily for, but the Preliminaries offered by France gave no hopes of fuch an one; and the trusting to the King of France's faith, after all that had passed, would seem a strange thing. She faid, we were not to regard the Preliminaries; we should have a peace upon such a bottom, that we should not at all rely on the King of France's word; but we ought to suspend our opinion, till she acquainted us with the whole matter. I asked leave to speak my mind plainly; which she granted: I faid, any treaty by which Spain and the West-Indies were left to King Philip, must in a little little while deliver up all Europe into the hands of 1711. France; and, if any fuch peace should be made. she was betrayed, and we were all ruined; in less than three years time, she would be murdered, and the fires would be again raised in Smithfield: I purfued this long, till I faw she grew uneasy; so I withdrew.

On the feventh of December, the opened the Par- The liament: In her speech she said, notwithstanding Queen's the arts of those who delighted in war, the time and speech to place were appointed for treating a general peace; Houses. her allies, especially the States, had by their ready concurrence expressed an entire considence in her; and she promised, to do her utmost to procure reafonable fatisfaction to them all: She demanded of the House of Commons the necessary supplies, for carrying on the war; and hoped that none would envy her the glory of ending it by a just and honourable peace; she in particular recommended unanimity, that our enemies might not think us a divided people, which might prevent that good peace, of which she had such reasonable hopes, and lo near a view.

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The speech gave occasion to many reflections; Reflec-"The arts of those who delighted in war" feem- tions on it. ed to be levelled at the Duke of Marlborough, and the preliminaries concerted at the Hague; her faying, that the allies reposed an entire confidence in Earl of her, amazed all those who knew, that neither the Nottin-Emperor nor the empire had agreed to the con- gham moved, gress, but were opposing it with great vehemence; that no and that even the States were far from being cordi-peace al or easy, in the steps that they had made.

After the speech, a motion was made in the less Spain House of Lords, to make an address of thanks to and the the Queen for her speech; upon this, the Earl of West In-Nottingham did very copiously set forth the necessi- dies were ty of having Spain and the West-Indies out of the taken from the hands of a Prince of the House of Bourbon; he House of moved that, with their address of thanks, they Bourton,

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1711 should offer that as their advice to the Queen; he fet forth the misery that all Europe, but England most particularly, must be under, if the West-Indies came into a French management; and that King Philip's possessing them was, upon the matter, the putting them into the hands of France. This was much opposed by the Ministers; they moved the referring that matter to another occasion, in which it might be fully debated; but faid, it was not fit to clog the address with it. Some officious courtiers faid, that fince peace and war belonged, as prerogatives to the Crown, it was not proper to offer any advice in those matters, 'till it was asked: But this was rejected with indignation, fince it was a constant practice in all sessions of Parliament, to offer advices; no prerogative could be above advice; this was the end specified in the writ, by which a Parliament was fummoned; nor was the motion for a delay received. The eyes of all Europe were upon the prefent fession; and this was a post-night: So it was fit they should come to a pre-Agreed to fent resolution, in a matter of such importance. The question was put, whether this advice should be part of the address; and the previous question being first put, it was carried by one voice to put it; and the main question was carried by three voices: so this point was gained, though by a small majority. The fame motion was made in the House of Commons, but was rejected by a great majority; yet in other respects their address was well couched: for they faid, they hoped for a just, honourable, and lasting peace, to her Majesty and to all her allies. lafe, sn-

When the address of the Lords was reported to the House, by the committee appointed to prepare it, the Court tried to get the whole matter to be contested over again, precending that the debate was not now, upon the matter, debated the day before, but only whether they should agree to the draught, prepared by the committee: But that part of it, which contained the advice, was conceived in the

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very words, in which the vote had paffed; and it 1711. was a standing rule, that what was once voted, could never again be brought into question, during This was fo facred a rule, that many of those, who voted with the Court the day before, expressed their indignation against it, as subverting the very constitution of Parliaments, if things might be thus voted and unvoted again, from day to day: Yet even upon this a division was called for, but the majority appearing fo evidently against the motion, it was yielded, without counting the House.

When the address was presented to the Queen, her The answer was; she was forry, that any should think, Queen's she would not do her utmost to hinder Spain and the answer. West-Indies from remaining in the hands of a Prince of the House of Bourbon: And the Lords returned her thanks for this gracious answer; for they understood, by the doing her utmost, was meant the continuing the war. The Court was much troubled to fee the House of Lords so backward; and both fides studied to fortify themselves, by bringing up their friends, or by getting their

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The next motion was made by the Earl of Not- A bill tingham, for leave to bring in a bill against occasio- against nal conformity: He told those, with whom he now occasional joined, that he was but one man come over to them, ty. unless he could carry a bill to that effect; but, if they would give way to that, he hoped he should be able to bring many to concur with them in other things. They yielded this the more eafily, because they knew that the Court had offered, to the high men in the House of Commons, to carry any bill that they should desire in that matter: The Earl of Nottingham promised to draw it with all possible temper. It was thus prepared; that all persons in places of profit and trust, and all the common-council men in corporations, who should be at any meeting for divine worship (where there were above ten persons, more than the family) in which the common prayer

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1711. was not used, or where the Queen and the Princess Sophia were not prayed for, should upon conviction forfeit their place of trust or profit, the witnesses making oath within ten days, and the profecution being within three months after the offence; and fuch persons were to continue incapable of any imployment, 'till they should depose, that for a whole year together they had been at no conventicle. The bill did also enact, that the toleration should remain inviolable, in all time to come; and that if any perfon should be brought into trouble, for not having observed the rules, that were prescribed by the act that first granted the toleration, all such profecution should cease, upon their taking the oath prescribed by that act: and a teacher, licenfed in any one county, was by the bill qualified, to ferve in any licensed meeting in any part of England; and by another clause, all who were concerned in the practice of the law in Scotland were required to take the Abjuration, in the month of June next.

Paffed without oppofition.

No opposition was made to this in the House of Lords; so it passed in three days; and it had the fame fate in the House of Commons; only they added a penalty on the offender of forty pounds, which was to be given to the informer: and fo it was offered to the royal affent, with the bill for four shillings in the pound. Great reflections were made on the fate of this bill, which had been formerly fo much contested, and was so often rejected by the Lords, and now went through both Houses, in so filent a manner, without the least opposition: Some of the diffenters complained much, that they were thus forfaken by their friends, to whom they had trusted; and the Court had agents among them, to inflame their refentments, fince they were facrificed by those, on whom they depended. All the excuse that the whigs made, for their eafiness in this matter, was, that they gave way to it, to try how far the yielding it might go toward quieting the fears of those, who seemed to think the church was ftill

still in danger, 'till that act passed; and thereby to 1711. engage thele, to concur with them, in those important matters that might come before them. It must be left to time to shew, what good effect this act may have on the church, or what bad ones it may have on diffenters.

The next point that occasioned a great debate in Duke Hathe House of Lords, which was espoused by the milton's Court with great zeal, was a patent creating Duke patent ex-Hamilton a Duke in England: lawyers were heard amined. for the patent, the Queen's prerogative in conferring honours was clear; all the subjects of the united kingdom had likewise a capacity of receiving honour; the Commons of Scotland had it unquestionably; and it feemed a strange affertion, that the Peers of that nation should be the only persons, incapable of receiving honour: By the act of union the Peers of Scotland were, by virtue of that treaty, to have a representation of sixteen, for their whole body; these words, by virtue of that treaty, seemed to intimate, that by creation or fuccession they might be made capable. And, in the debate that followed in the House, the Scotch Lords, who had been of the treaty, affirmed that these words were put in on that defign: And upon this, they appealed to the English Lords: This was denied by none of them. It was also urged, that the House of Lords had already judged the matter, when they not only received the Duke of Queensbury, upon his being created Duke of Dover; but had fo far affirmed his being a Peer of Great Britain, that upon that account, they had denied him the right of voting in the election of the fixteen Peers of Scotland. But in opposition to all this, it was said, that the prerogative could not operate when it was barred by an act of Parliament; the act of union had made all the Peers of Scotland, Peers of Great Britain, as to all intents, except the voting in the House of Lords, or fitting in judgment on a Peer; and as to their voting, that was vested in their representatives, by whom

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1711.

whom they voted: The Queen might give them what titles she pleased; but this incapacity of voting otherwise than by these sixteen, being settled by law, the prerogative was by that limited as to them: They had indeed admitted the Duke of Queensbury to fit among them, as Duke of Dover; but that matter was never brought into debate; fo it was only passed over in silence: And he was mentioned in their books, upon the occasion of his voting in the choice of the fixteen Peers of Scotland, in terms that were far from determining this; for it was there faid, that he claiming to be Duke of Dover, could not vote as a Scotch Peer. The Scotch Lords infifted, in arguing for the patent, with great vehemence, not without intimations of the difmal effects, that might follow, if it should go in the negative. The Court put their whole strength to support the patent; this heightened the zeal of those, who opposed it: For they apprehended, that considering the dignity and the antiquity of the Scotch Peers, and the poverty of the greater part of them, the Court would always have recourse to this, as a fure expedient to have a conftant majority in the House of Lords. There was no limitation indeed on the prerogative, as to the creation of new Peers, yet these were generally men of estates, who could not be kept in a constant dependence, as some of the Scotch Lords might be.

Judged against him.

The Queen heard all the debate, which lasted some hours; in conclusion, when it came to the sinal vote, sifty-two voted for the patent, and sifty-seven against it. The Queen and the Ministers seemed to be much concerned at this, and the Scotch were enraged at it: They met together, and signed a representation to the Queen, complaining of it as a breach of the union, and a mark of disgrace put on the whole Peers of Scotland, adding solemn promises of maintaining her prerogative, either in an united or separated state. This made the Ministers resolve on another method to let the Peers, and indeed

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deed the whole world see, that they would have that 1711. House kept in a constant dependence on the Court, by creating fuch a number of Peers at once, as should give them an unquestionable majority. On the twentyfecond of December the bill for four shillings in the pound was ready for the royal affent; yet the House of Commons adjourned to the fourteenth of January, which was a long recess in so critical a time.

A motion was made in the House of Lords, by The the Duke of Devonshire, for leave to bring in a bill, Lords adto give the Prince Electoral of Hanover, as Duke our allies of Cambridge, the precedence of all Peers; this was might be granted, and so was like to meet with no opposition, carried The Earl of Nottingham moved next, that before along their recess, they should make an address to the with us in the treaty. Queen, desiring her to order her plenipotentiaries to concert, with the Ministers of the allies, the grounds upon which they were to proceed in their treaties, and to agree on a mutual guaranty to 1ecure them to us, as well as to all Europe, and in particular to fecure the protestant succession to England. All the opposition that the Court made to this was, to shew it was needless, for it was already ordered: And the Lord Treasurer said, the Lords might, in order to their fatisfaction, fend to examine their instructions. To this it was answered, that the offering fuch an address would fortify the plenipotentiaries, in executing their instructions. The Court moved, that these words might be put in the address, " if the Queen had not ordered it;" to, this being agreed to, the thing passed; and the Lords adjourned to the second of January.

But a new scene was ready to be opened in the Discove-House of Commons; the commissionrs for examin-ries of ing the publick accounts made some discoveries, bribery upon which they intended to proceed, at their pretendnext meeting. Walpole, who had been fecretary of war, and who had appeared with great firmnels in the defence of the late Ministry, was first aimed at; a bill had been remitted to him of 500 l. by

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those who had contracted to forage the troops. that lay in Scotland; this made way to a matter of more importance: A Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing bread to the army in Flanders, made a present yearly to the Duke of Marlborough of between 5 and 6000 l. The General of the States had the like prefent, as a perquifite to support his dignity, and to enable him to procure intelligence: The Queen ordered 10000 l. a-year more to the Duke of Marlborough, for the fame fervice: The late King had also agreed, that two and a half per Cent. should be deducted out of the pay of the foreign troops, which amounted to 15000 l. This the Queen had by a warrant appointed the Duke of Marlborough to receive, on the same account.

The Duke of Mar!borough simed at.

He heard his enemies had discovered the present, made him by the Jew, while he was beyond fea; fo he wrote to them, and owned the whole matter to be true, and added, that he had applied these fums to the procuring good intelligence, to which, next to the bleffing of God and the bravery of the troops, their constant successes were chiefly owing. This did not fatisfy the commissioners; but, though no complaints were brought from the army, of their not being constantly supplied with good bread, yet they faw here was matter to raife a clamour, which they chiefly aimed at; fo this was reported to the House of Commons before their recess.

He is turnployments.

A few days after this, the Queen wrote him a ed out of letter, complaining of the ill treatment she received all his im- from him, and discharged him of all his imployments: This was thought very extraordinary, after fuch long and eminent services; such accidents, when they happen, shew the instability of all human things; this was indeed fo little expected, that those who looked for precedents, could find none fince the difference of Belifarius in Justinian's time: The only thing pretended to excuse it was, his being confidered as the head of those, who opthoic poied e

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opfed posed the peace, on which the Court seemed to 1711. let their hearts.

But they, finding the majority of the House of Twelve Lords could not be brought to favour their de- new Peers figns, refolved to make an experiment, that none made. of our Princes had ventured on in former times: A refolution was taken up very fuddenly of making twelve Peers all at once; three of these were called up by writ, being eldest sons of Peers: and nine more were created by patent. Sir Miles Wharton, to whom it was offered, refused it: He thought it looked like the ferving a turn; and that, whereas Peers were wont to be made for fervices they had done, he would be made for fervices to be done by him; so he excused himself, and the favourite's husband, Mr. Masham, was put in his room. And whereas formerly Jefferies had the vanity to be made a Peer, while he was Chief Justice, which had not been practifed for some ages; yet the precedent set by him was followed, and Trevor, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, was now advanced to be a Peer. This was looked upon as an undoubted part of the prerogative; so there was no ground in law to oppose the receiving the new Lords into the house: Nor was it possible to raise, in the ancient Peers, a fense of the indignity that was now put upon their house; fince the Court did by this openly declare, that they were to be kept in absolute submillion and obedience.

and of bairborn sent When the second of January came, they were 1712. all introduced into the House of Lords without any opposition; and when that was over, the Lord Queen's Keeper delivered a message from the Queen, com- message to manding them to adjourn forthwith to the four- the Lords teenth; for by that time her Majesty would lay to admatters of great importance before the two houses. journ, dif-Upon this a great debate arose; it was said, that obeyed. the Queen could not fend a message to any one house to adjourn, when the like message was not

1712.

fent to both houses: The pleasure of the Prince. in convening, diffolving, proroguing, or ordering the adjournment of Parliaments, was always directed to both houses; but never to any one house, without the fame intimation was made, at the fame time, to the other. The consequence of this, if allowed, might be the ordering one house to adjourn, while the other was left to fit still; and this might end in a total disjointing of the constitution: The vote was carried for adjourning by the weight of the twelve new Peers. It is true, the odds in the books is thirteen; but that was, because one of the Peers, who had a proxy, without reflecting on it, went away when the proxies were called for.

Prince Euto England.

At this time Prince Eugene was fent by the Emgene came peror to England, to try if it was possible to engage our Court, to go on with the war; offering a new scheme, by which he took a much larger share of it on himself, than the late Emperor would bear. That Prince's character was so justly high, that all people for some weeks pressed about the places, where he was to be feen, to look on him; I had the honour to be admitted at feveral times. to much discourse with him; his character is so univerfally known, that I will fay nothing of him, but from what appeared to myself. He has a most unaffected modesty, and does scarcely bear the acknowledgments that all the world pay him: He descends to an easy equality with those, with whom he converses; and seems to assume nothing to himfelf, while he reasons with others: He was treated with great respect by both parties; but he put a diffinguished respect on the Duke of Marlborough, with whom he passed most of his time. The Queen used him civilly, but not with the distinction that was due to his high merit: Nor did he gain much ground with the Ministers.

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A message When the fourteenth of January came, the houses were ordered to adjourn to the eighteenth, and then a meffage was fent to both houses; the Queen told

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them, the congress was opened, and that she would 1712. fet a day for ending it, as well as the had done for opening it. She had ordered her Plenipotentiaries, to agree with the Ministers of her allies, according to all her treaties with them, to obtain reasonable satisfaction to their demands; in particular concerning Spain and the West Indies; by which, the false reports of ill-designing men, who, for evil ends, had reported that a separate peace was treated, would appear, for there was never the leaft colour given for this. She also promised, that the articles of the treaty should be laid before the houses, before any thing should be concluded. Upon this, the House of Lords agreed to an address, thanking her Majesty, for communicating this to them, and for the promises she had made them, repeating the words in which they were made: It was moved to add the words, conform to her alliance; but it was faid, the Queen affured them of that, fo the repeating these words seemed to intimate a diffrust; and that was not carried. But, because there seemed to be an ambiguity in the mention made of Spain and the West-Indies, the house expressed, in what sense they understood them, by adding these words, which were of the greatest importance to the safety and commerce of these nations. The Commons made an address to the lame purpose, in which they only named Spain and the West-Indies.

The Lord Treasurer prevented the Duke of A bill giv-Devonshire, who had prepared a bill for giving ing preceprecedence to the Duke of Cambridge; for he the house offered a bill, giving precedence to the whole of Hanelectoral family, as the children and nephews of over. the Crown; and it was intimated, that bills relating to honours and precedence ought to come from the Crown: The Duke of Devonshire would make no dispute on this head; if the thing passed, he acquielced in the manner of passing it, only he thought it lay within the authority of the house.

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1712. On this occasion, the Court seemed, even to an effectation, to shew a particular zeal in promoting this bill: For it passed through both houses in two days, it being read thrice in a day, in them both. For all this hafte, the Court did not feem to defign any fuch bill, till it was proposed by others, out of whose hands they thought fit to take it. There were two other articles, in the Queen's meffage; by the one, the defired their advice and affiftance. to quiet the uneafiness, that the Peers of Scotland were under, by the judgment lately given: By the other, the complained of the licence of the prefs. and defired some restraint might be put upon it. The Lords entred upon the confideration of that Debates part of the Queen's message, that related to the concerning the Peers of Scotland; and it took up almost a whole Scotch week. The Court proposed, that an expedient Peers. might be found, that the Peers of Scotland should not fit among them by election, but by descent, in case the rest of the Peers of that nation should confent to it: A debate followed concerning the articles of the union, which of them were fundamental and not alterable; it was faid, that by the union, no private right could be taken away, but by the confent of the persons concerned; therefore no alteration could be made in the right of the Peers of Scotland, unless they consented to it. It was afterwards debated, whether an alteration might be made with this condition, in case they should consent to it; or whether the first rise to any such

censure.

The House of Commons, after the recess, encase and tred on the observations of the commissioners for taking the publick accounts; and began with Walpole, whom they resolved to put out of the way of disturbing them in the house. The thing laid to

alteration ought not to be given, by a previous defire. This was not fo subject to an ill manage-

ment; the Court studied to have a subsequent con-

fent received as fufficient; but a previous defire

was infifted on, as visibly fairer and juster.

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his charge stood thus; after he, as Secretary of 1712. war, had contracted with fome for forrage to the horse, that lay in Scotland; he, finding that the two persons who contracted for it made some gain by it, named a friend of his own as a third person, that he might have a share in the pain; but the other two had no mind to let him in to know the fecret of their management; to they offered him goo h for his share; he accepted of it, and the money was remitted. But they, not knowing his address, directed their bill to Walpole, who endorfed it, and the person concerned received the money; this was found out, and Walpole was charged with it as a bribe, that he had taken for his own use, for making the contract. Both the Persons that remitted the money, and he who received it were examined. and affirmed that Walpole was neither directly nor indirectly concerned in the matter; but the house infifted upon his having endorfed the bill, and not only voted this a corruption, but fent him to the tower, and expelled him the house:

The next attack was on the Duke of Marl- The cenborough: The money received from the Jew, fure put was faid to be a fraud; and that, deducted out of on the the pay of the foreign troops, was faid to be pub- Marlbolick money, and to be accounted for: The debate rough. held long; it appeared, that during the former war, King William had 50000 l. a-year for contingencies: It was often reckoned to have cost much more. The contingency was that fervice, which could be brought to no certain head, and was chiefly for procuring intelligence; the Duke of Marlborough had only 10000 li for the contingencies; and that and all the other items joined together, amounted but to 30000 l. a fum much inferior to what had been formerly given; and yet, with this moderate expence, he had procured fo good intelligence, that he was never furprized, and no party he fent out was ever intercepted or cut off. VOL. IV. A a

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1712. By means of this intelligence, all his defigns were fo well concerted, that he succeeded in every one of them, and by many instances, the exactness of his intelligence was fully demonstrated. It was proved, both by witnesses, and by formal attestations from Holland, that ever fince the year 1672, the Jews had made the like prefent to the General of the States army; and it was understood as a perquifite belonging to that command: No bargain was made with the Jews for the English troops, that made by the States being applied to them; fo that it appeared, that the making fuch a present to the General was customary; but that was denied: And they voted, the taking that prefent to be illegal; and, though he had the Queen's warrant to receive the fixpence in the pound, or two and a half per Cent. deducted from the pay of the foreign troops, yet that was voted to be unwarrantable, and that it ought to be accounted for. The Court elpoused this with such zeal, and paid so well for it, that it was carried by a great majority: Upon this, many virulent writers (whether fet on to it, or officiously studying to merit by it, did not appear) threw out, in many defamatory libels, a great deal of their malice against the Duke of Marlborough: They compared him to Catiline, to Craffus, and to Anthony; and studied to represent him as a robber of the nation, and as a publick enemy. This gave an indignation to all, who had a fense of gratitude, or a regard to justice; in one of these scurrilous papers, wrote on design to raise the rabble against him, one of the periods began thus, He was perhaps once fortunate. I took occasion to let Prince Eugene see the spite of these writers, and mentioned this passage; upon which he made this pleasant reflection, That it was the greatest commendation could be given him, fince he was always luccelsful; fo this implied, that in one fingle instance he might be fortunate, but that all his other fuccesses were owing to his conduct. I upon

Many libels against him.

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that faid, that fingle instance must be then his of 1712. caping out of the hands of the party, that took him; when he was failing down the Maese in the boat. But their ill-will rested not in defamation; the Queen was prevailed on to fend an order to the attorney-general, to profesure him for the 15000 l. that was deducted yearly out of the pay of the foreign troops, which he had received by her own warrant i But what this will end in, must be left came back and commit of

The Duke of Ormand was now declared General; and had the first regiment of guards; and the Earl of Rivers was made mafter of the ordnance.

Secret enquiries were made, in order to the His innolaying more load on the Duke of Marlborough, cence apand to fee whether posts in the army, or in the evidently. guards were fold by him; but nothing could be found: He had suffered a practice to go on, that had been begun in the late King's time, of letting officers fell their commissions; but he had never taken any part of the price to himself i Few thought that he had been so clear in that matter; for it was the only thing, in which his enemies were confident, that some discoveries would have been made to his prejudice; so that the endeavours used, to fearch into those matters, producing nothing, railed the reputation of his incorrupt administration, more than all his well-wishers could have Thus happy does fometimes the malice of an enemy prove! In this whole transaction we law a new scene of ingratitude, acted in a most imprudent manner; when the man, to whom the nation owed more, than it had ever done in any age to any subject, or perhaps to any person whatloever, was for some months pursued with so much malice: He bore it with filence and patience, with an exterior that feemed always calm and cheerful; and, though he prepared a full vindication of himself, yet he delayed publishing it, 'till the nation should return to its senses, and be capable of A 2 2 examining required,

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1712. examining these matters, in a more impartial manout of the hands of the unit J ner.

The Scotch Lords put in good hopes.

The Scotch Lords, feeing no redrefs to their complaint, feemed refolved to come no more to fit in the House of Peers; but the Court was sensible. that their strength in that house consisted chiefly in them, and in the new Peers: So pains were taken, and fecret forcible arguments were used to them, which proved to effectual, that after a few days absence, they came back, and continued, during the fession, to the in the house. They gave it out, that an expedient would be found, that would be to the fatisfaction of the Peers of Scotland : But nothing of that appearing, it was concluded that the fatisfaction was private, and perfonal. The great arrear, into which all the regular payments, both of the houshold and of falaries and pensions was left to run, made it to be generally believed, that the income for the civil lift, though it exceeded the eftablishment very far, was applied to other payments, which the Ministers durst not own. And though secret practice on members had been of a great while too common, yet it was believed, that it was at this time managed, with an extraordinary profusion.

Those, who were suspected to have very bad defigns, applied themselves with great industry to drive on fuch bills, as they hoped would give the Presbyterians in Scotland such alarms, as might dispose them to remonstrate, that the union was broken. They passed not all at once; but I shall lay them together, because one and the same de-

fign was purfued in them all it amon bowe notes

A tolera-English liturgy in Scotland?

A toleration was proposed for the episcopal tion to the clergy, who would ine the liturgy of the church of England; this seemed so reasonable, that no oppolition was made to it : One clause put in it, occafioned great complaints; the magistrates, who by the laws were obliged to execute the fentences of the judicatories of their Kirk, were by this act examining required, 1

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required, to execute none of them. It was rea- 1712. sonable to require them to execute no sentences, that might be passed on any, for doing what was tolerated by this act; but the carrying this to a general clause, took away the civil fanction, which in most places is looked on as the chief, if not the only strength of church power. Those, who were to be thus tolerated, were required, by a day limited in the act, to take the oath of abjuration; it was well known, that few, if any of them, would take that oath; so to cover them from it, a clause was put in this act, requiring all the Presby- Defigns to terian Ministers to take it; since it seemed reasona-provoke ble, that those of the legal Establishment should the Presbybe required to take that, which was now to be there. impoled on those, who were only to be tolerated. It was well understood, that there were words in the oath of abjuration, to which the Presbyterians excepted. In the act of fuccession, one of the conditions on which the fucceffor was to be received, was, his being of the communion of the church of England; and by the oath of abjuration, the fuccession was sworn to, as limited by that act: The word limitation imported only the entail of the Crown; but it was suggested that the particle as, related to all the conditions in that act. This was spread among so many of that persuafion, that it was believed a great party among them would refuse to take it: So a small alteration was made by the House of Lords of these words, as was limited, into words of the same sense, which was limited; but those who intended to excuse the episcopal party, who they knew were in the Pretender's interests, from taking the oath, were for keeping in those words, which the Presbyterians icrupled. The Commons accordingly difagreed to the amendment made by the Lords; and they receding from it, the bill pais'd, as it had been fent up from the Commons. Another act passed for discontinuing the Courts of judicature, Aa3

1712. during some days at Christmas, though the observe ing of holidays was contrary to their principles;

This was intended only to irritate them.

Patronaed.

After that, an act was brought in, for the restorges rettor- ing of patronages; thefe had been taken away by an act in King William's reign; it was fet up by the Presbyterians, from their first beginning, as a principle, that parishes had, from warrants in scripture, a right to chuse their Ministers; so that they had always looked on the right of patronage, as an invafine, by the act of union, Presbytery, with all it's rights and privileges, was unalterably fecured, and fince their kirk-leftion was a branch of their conftitution, the taking from them the right of chusing their Ministers was contrary to that act: Yet the bill passed through both Houses, a small opposition being only made in either. By these steps the Presbyterians were alarmed, when they faw the fuccess of every motion that was made, on delign to weaken and undermine their establishment.

The barier treaty.

Another matter, of a more publick nature, was at this time fet on foot; both Houses of Parliament. had in the year 1709, agreed in an address to the Queen, that the Protestant succession might be secured by a guaranty, in the treaty of peace; and this was fettled at the Hague, to be one of the preliminaries: But when an end was put to the conferences at Gertruydenberg, the Lord Townshend was ordered to fet on foot a treaty with the States to that effect. They entertained it readily; but at the fame time they proposed, that England should enter into a guaranty with them, to maintain their barrier; which consisted of some places they were to garrison, the fovereignty of which was still in the crown of Spain; and of other places, which had not belonged to that crown, at the death of King Charles the Second, but had been taken in the progress of the war: for, by their agreements with us, they bore the charge of the fieges, and fo the places taken were 90

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to belong to them : These were chiefly Liste, Tournay, Menin, and Doway; and were to be kept still by them. But as for those places, which, from the time of the treaty of the Pyrenees, belonged to the Spaniards, they had been fo ill looked after, by the Spanish Governors of Flanders, who were more let on enriching themselves, and keeping a magnificent court at Bruffels, than on preferving the country; that neither were the fortifications kept in due repair, nor the magazines furnished, nor the foldiers paid: So that whenfoever a war broke out, the French made themselves very easily masters of places to ill kept. The States had therefore propoled, during this war, that the lovereignty of those places thould continue still to belong to the crown of Spain; but they should keep garrisons in the strongelt and the most exposed, in particular those that lay on the Lys and the Scheld; and for the maintaining this, they asked 100000 l. a-year from those provinces; by which means they would be kept better and cheaper than ever they had been, while they were in the hands of the Spaniards: They also asked a tree passage for all the stores, that they should fend to those places. This seemed to be fo reasonable, that fince the interest of England, as well as of the States, required that this frontier should be carefully maintained, the Ministry were ready to hearken to it! It was objected, that in case of a war between England and the States, the trade of those provinces would be wholly in the hands of the Dutch , but this had been fettled in the great truce, which, by the mediation of France and England, was made between the Spaniards and the States: There was a provisional order therein made, for the freedom of trade in those provinces; and that was turned to a perpetual one, by the peace of Munster. King Charles of Spain had agreed to the main of the barrier; some places on the Scheld were not neceslary for a frontier, but the States infifted on them, as necessary to maintain a communication with the A a 4 frontier:

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frontier: the King of Prussia excepted likewise to fome places in the Spanish Guelder. The Lord Townshend thought, that these were such inconsiderable objections, that though his instructions did not come up to every particular, yet he figned the treaty, known by the name of the Barrier Treaty: By it the States bound themselves to maintain the Queen's title to her dominions and the protestant fuccession, with their whole torce; and England was reciprocally bound to affift them in maintaining this barrier, and your a revooland.

ed of.

The mercenary writers, that were hired to defend complain- the peace, then projected with France, attacked this treaty with great virulence, and by arguments that gave just suspicions of black designs: They faid, it was a difgrace to this nation, to engage any other state to secure the succession among us, which perhaps we might fee cause to alter: Whereas by this treaty, the States had an authority given them, to interpole in our Counsels. It was also said, that if the States were put in possession of all those strong towns, they might thut us out from any there of trade in them, and might erect our manufactures in provinces, very capable of them: But it was anfwered, that this could not be done, as long as this treaty continued in force, unless the Sovereign of the country should join with them against us. Some objected to the fettlement made at Munster, as a transaction when we were in such confusion at home, that we had no Minister there; but that treaty had only rendred the truce, and the provisional fettlement made before, by the mediation of England, perpetual; and we had fince acquiefeed in that fertlement for above fixty years. By examining into the particulars of the treaty it appeared, that in some inconsiderable matters the Lord Townshend had gone beyond the letter of his instructions, in which he had fo fully fatisfied the Ministry, that though upon his first signing it, some exceptions had been taken, yet these were passed over, and the treaty was ratified in form But 4

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But the present Ministry had other views: They deligned to let the Queen at liberty from her engagements by these alliances, and to disengage her from treaties. The House of Commons went now very haltily into feveral resolutions, that were very injurious to the States: they pretended, they had failed in the performance of all agreements, with relation to the service, both at sea and land; and the troops, that were to have been furnished in Portugal and Savoy, as well as the subsidies due to those Princes. They fell next on the Barrier Treaty; they And congave it out, that the old Ministry designed to bring demned by the over an army from Holland, whenfoever they House of should, for other ends, pretend that the Protestant Lords. fuccession was in danger; and it was faid, there was no need of any foreign affiftance to maintain it. In the debate, it was infifted on, that it could be maintained lafely no other way; it was not to be doubted, but the King of France would affift the Pretender; England was not inclined to keep up a flanding army, in time of peace, to relift him: So that we could not be to fate any other way, as by have ing the States engaged, to fend over their army, if it should be necessary. But reason is a feeble thing, to bear down resolutions already taken; so the House of Commons voted the treaty dishonourable, and injurious to England; and that the Lord Townthend had gone beyond his instructions in signing it; and that he and all, who had advised and ratified that treaty, were publick enemies to the kingdom. These votes were carried by a great majority, and were looked on as strange preludes to a peace. When the States heard, what exceptions were taken to the Barrier Treaty, they wrote a very respectful letter to the Queen, in which they offered to explain or mollity any part of it, that was wrong undertood; but the managers of the House of Commons got all their votes to be digested, into a well-compoted inflaming representation, which was laid before the Queen; by it all the allies, but most parti-

1712.

cularly the States, were charged for having failed in many particulars, contrary to their engagements: They also laid before the Queen the votes they had made, with relation to the Barrier Treaty; and that they might name a great fum, that would make a deep impression on the nation (which was ready to receive all things implicitly from them) they faid England had been, during the war, overcharged nineteen millions, beyond what they ought to have paid; all which was cast on the old Ministry.

The States justify them-felves.

The States in answer to all this, drew up a large memorial, in which every particular in the representation was examined, and fully answered: They tent it over to their envoy, who presented it to the Queen; but no notice was taken of it; the end was already served; and the entring into a discusfion about it, could have no other effect, but to confound those who drew it. The two first heads of the States memorial, that related to the service at lea and in Flanders, were printed here; and contained a full answer to all that was charged on them, as to those matters; to the ample conviction of all, who examined the particulars. The House of Commons faw the effect this was like to have; so they voted it a false, malicious, scandalous, and injurious paper, and that the printing it was a breach of privilege: And to stop the printing the other heads, they put the printer in prison; this was a confutation, to which no reply could be made; yet it deemed to be a confession, that their representation could not be justified, when the answer to it was to carefully stifled. The House of Commons went next to repeal the naturalization act, in which they met with no opposition. There's remain and out

The felfdenying bill loft.

The felf-denying bill was brought into the House of Commons, and, as was ordinary, it passed easily there: the scandal of corruption was now higher than ever; for it was believed men were not only bribed for a whole session, but had new bribes for particular votes. The twelve new Peers being brought

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into the House of Lords, had irritated so many 1712. there, that for two days, by all the judgments that could be made of the House, the bill was likely to have paffed that House: But upon some prevailing arguments, fecretly and dextroufly applied to fome Lords, an Alteration was made in it, by which it was loft: For whereas the bill, as it flood, was to take place after the determination of the present Parliament, this was altered, fo as that it should take place after the demile of the Queen; fo it was no more thought on.

The House of Commons voted two millions to be raised by a lottery; for which a fund was created that might pay both principal and interest in

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I look next to Utrecht, where the treaty was The treaopened: The Emperor and the empire fent their ty at Utrecht Ministers very late and unwillingly thither; but they opened. submitted to the necessity of their affairs; yet with this condition, that the French proposals (for to the propositions, that were formerly called preliminaries, came to be named) should be no ground to proceed on; and that a new treaty should be entred on, without any regard to them. It was also agreed, to lave the loss of time in settling the ceremonial, that the plenipotentiaries should affume no character of dignity, 'till all matters were adjusted; and made ready for figning. The first of January was the day named for opening the congress; but they waited some time for the allies: In the beginning of February O. S. the French made their proposals in a very high strain.

They promised, that at the figning of the treaty The they would own the Queen and the Succession to French the Crown, as the should direct; Spain and the proposals. West-Indies were to remain with King Philip; the dominions in Italy, with the Islands, except Sicily, were to go to the Emperor, and the Spanish Netherlands to the Elector of Bavaria: The trade was to be regulated, as it was before the war; some

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places in Canada were to be restored to England, with the freedom of fishery in Newfoundland; but Placentia was to remain with the French: Dunkirk was offered to be demolished; but Liste and Tournay were to be given for it: The States were to have their demands for the barrier; and the frontier between France, the Empire, and Italy, was to be the fame, that it was before the war; by which Landau, Fenestrella, and Exiles, were to be restored to France. These demands were as extravagant, as any that France could have made, in the most prosperous state of their affairs: This filled the Allies with indignation, and heightned the jealoufy they had of a fecret understanding, between the courts of England and France.

The death, But a great change happened in the affairs of of the France, at this very time, that their Plenipotentwo Dau-riaries were making these demands at Utrecht: The phine. Dauphiness was taken suddenly ill of a surfeit, as it was given out, and died in three days; and within three or four days after that, the Dauphin himself died; and in a few days after him, his eldest fon, about five or fix years old, died likewife; and his fecond fon, then about three years old, was thought to be in a dying condition: These deaths coming so quick one after another, ftruck that Court: The King himself was for some days ill, but he foon recovered. Such repeated strokes were looked on with amazement: Poison was suspected, as is usual upon all such occasions; and the Duke of Orleans was generally charged with it: He was believed to have dealt much in chymistry, and was an ambitious Prince. While he was in Spain, at the head of King Philip's army, he formed a project to fet him afide, and to make himself King of Spain; in which, as the Lord Townshend told me, he went so far, that he tried to engage Mr. Stanhope, to press the Queen and the States to affift him, promiting to break with France, and to marny King Charles's Dowager, essele

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This came to be discovered: He was upon that 1712. called out of Spain; and it was thought, that the only thing that faved him, was the King's kindness to his natural daughter, whom he had married. The King not only past it over; but foon after, he obliged the Duke of Berry to marry his daughter: Such care had that old King taken, to corrupt the blood of France, with the mixture of his fourious iffue. King Philip was not at all pleafed with the alliance; but wrote to his elder brother, expostulating for his not opposing the marriage more vigorously; with which he profest himself so difpleased, that he could not be brought to congratulate upon it. This letter was fent from Madrid to Paris; but was intercepted, and ferit to Barcelona, and from thence to the Hague 3 Dr. Hare told me, he read the original letter.

The Duke of Burgundy, when he became Dau- The chaphin, upon his father's death, had been let unto racter of the understanding the secrets of government; and, phin. as was given out, he had on many occasions expressed a deep sense of the miseries of the people, with great fentiments of justice: He had likewise, in fome disputes, that Cardinal de Noailles had with the Jesuits, esponsed his interests, and protested him. It was also believed, that he retained a great affection to the Archbishop of Cambray, whose fable of Telemachus earned in it the noblest maxims possible, for the conduct of a wife and good Prince, and fet forth that station in shining charactors, but which were the reverse of Lewis the XIVeh's whole life and reign. These things gave the French a just sense of the loss they had in his death; and the apprehensions of a minority, after fuch a reign, firuck them with a great confternation. These deaths, in so critical a time, seemed to portend, that all the valt scheme which the King of France had formed, with to much perhay and bloodshed, was in a fair way to be foon befiled and on both fides a thir had indeed been

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An indignation. when the French proposals over, appeared in both Houses.

The French propositions raised, among the true English, a just indignation; more particularly their putting off the owning the Queen, till the treaty came to be figned: The Lord Treasurer, to foften this faid. he faw a letter, in which the King of France acknowledged her Queen; this was a confession that there was a private correspondence between them yet the doing it by a letter was no legal act. In excuse of this it was said, that the late King was not owned by the French, till the treaty of Ryfwick came to be figned: But there was a mediator in that treaty, with whom our Plenipotentiaries only negotiated; whereas there was no mediator at Utrecht: So that the Queen was now, without any interpolition, treating with a Prince, who did not own her right to the Crown. The propositions made by the French were treated here with the greatest scorn; nor did the Ministers pretend to fay any thing in excuse for them: And an address was made to the Queen, expressing a just indignation at such a proceeding, promising her all affiltance in carrying on the war, 'till the should arrive at a just and honourable peace.

The demands of the Allies

The Allies did offer their demands next, which ran as high another way: The Emperor afked the whole Spanish Monarchy; England asked the reftoring Newfoundland, and the demolishing of Dunkirk; the States asked their whole barrier; and every Ally asked satisfaction to all the other Allies, as well as to himself: England and the States declared, that they demanded Spain and the West-Indies for the Emperor; so the high pattern fet by the French, in their demands, was to the full imitated by the Allies. The French fet a day, for offering their answer; but when the day came, instead of offering an answer in writing, they proposed to enter into verbal conferences, upon the demands made on both fides: This had indeed been practifed

practifed in treaties, where mediators interpoled; 1712. but that was not done, 'till the main points were fecretly agreed to. The Allies rejected this propofition, and demanded specifick answers in writing; fo, till the beginning of May, the treaty went on in a very languid manner, in many fruitless meetings, the French always faying, they had yet received no other orders: So that the negotiation there was at a full stand. Sin stand of a work

The preparations for the campaign were carried Preparaon, by the Emperor and the States, with all pof-the camfible vigour: Prince Eugene staid three months in paign. England in a fruitless negotiation with our Court, and was fent back with general and ambiguous promises: The States gave him the supreme command of their army, and affured him that, in the execution of the project that was concerted among them, he should be put under no restraint by their Deputies or Generals, and that no ceffation of arms should be ordered, till all was settled by a general peace. The Duke of Ormond followed him in April, well fatisfied both with his instructions and his appointments; for he had the same allowances, that had been lately voted criminal in the Duke of Marlboroughter on good mid sweet totallock-yearson

At this time the Pretender was taken ill of the The Prefmall-pox: He recovered of them; but his fifter, tender's who was taken with the fame disease, died of it: fifter died. She was, by all that knew her, admired as a most extraordinary person in all respects; insomuch that a very great character was spread of her, by those who talked but indifferently of the Pretender himtelf: Thus he lost a great strength, which she procured to him, from all who faw or converfed with her. I turn next to give an account of the condon and Weltminiter: 10 an office, tor noticov

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en fed There was a doubt fuggefted, whether the Queen's Proceedlicence did still subsist, after a prorogation by a ings in royal writ: The Attorney-General gave his opi- Convocanion, that it was still in force; upon which, the

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Billions

Bishops went on with the resolution, in which the former Session had ended, and fent back to the Lower House a paper, which had been fent to them from that House in the former Session, with fuch amendments, as they thought proper: But then Atterbury started a new notion, that as, in a fession of Parliament, a prorogation put an end to all matters not finished, so that they were to begin all a-new; the same rule was to be applied to convocations, in pursuance of his favourite notion, that the proceedings in Parliament were likewise to be observed amongst them. The Bishops did not agree to this; for, upon fearthing their books, they found a course of precedents to the contrary: And the schedule, by which the Archbishop prorogued them, when the royal writ was fent him, did in express words continue all things, in the state in which they were then, to their next meeting. Yet this did not fatisfy Atterbury and his party; fo the Lower House ordered him to lay the matter before the Attorney-General for his opinion; he did that very partially, for he did not shew him the paper fent down by the Bishops; he only gave him a very defective abstract of it: Whereupon the Attorney-General gave him fuch an answer as he defired, by which it was very plain, that he was not rightly informed about it. The Bishops resolved to adhere to the method of former convocations, and not to begin matters afresh, that had been formerly near finished. By this means they were at a full stop, so that they could not determine those points, which had been recommended to them by the Queen: But they entered upon new ones; there was then a bill, in the House of Parliament, for building fifty new churches, in and about London and Westminster; so an office, for consecrating churches and church-yards, was prepared: And probably this will be all the fruit, that the church will reap from this Convocation. mers, that it, was full in force; topon which me

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The censure that was passed on Whiston's book, 1712. in the former Session, had been laid before the Queen in due form for her approbation: But at Censure on Whif-the opening of this Session in December, the Bi-ton's book shops finding that no return was come from the not conthrone in that matter, fent two of their num-firmed ber, to receive her Majesty's pleasure in it; the by the Archbishop being so ill of the gout, that he came Queen not among us all that winter. The Queen had put the censure, that we had sent her, into the hands of some of her Ministers, but could not remember to whom the gave it; so a new extract of it was fent to her; and she faid, she would fend her pleafure upon it very speedily: But none came during the Session, so all further proceedings against him were stopped, since the Queen did not confirm the This was not unacceptaflep, that we had made. ble to some of us, and to myself in particular; I was gone into my diocess, when that censure was paffed; and I have ever thought, that the true interest of the christian religion was best consulted, when nice disputing about mysteries was laid aside and forgotten.

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There appeared at this time an inclination, in An inclimany of the clergy, to a nearer approach towards nation in feme of the church of Rome; Hicks, an ill-tempered man, the clergy who was now at the head of the Jacobite party, towards had in feveral books promoted a notion, that there Popery. was a proper facrifice made in the Eucharist, and had on many occasions studied to lessen our averfion to Popery: The fupremacy of the Crown in ecclefiaftical matters, and the method in which the reformation was carried, was openly condemned; one Brett had preached a fermon, in feveral of the pulpits of London, which he afterwards printed; in which he pressed the necessity of priestly absolution, in a strain beyond what was pretended to even in the church of Rome: He faid no repentance could serve without it, and affirmed that the Priest was vefted with the same power of pardoning, VOL. IV.

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1712. that our Saviour himself had. A motion was made in the Lower House of Convocation, to cenfure this; but it was fo ill supported, that it was let fall. Another conceit was taken up, of the invalidity of Lay-Baptism, on which several books have been writ; nor was the dispute a trifling one. fince by this notion, the teachers among the Diffenters paffing for Lay Men, this went to the rebaptizing them and their congregations.

Dodwell's notions.

Dodwell gave the rife to this conceit; he was a very learned man, and led a strict life; he seemed to hunt after paradoxes in all his writings, and broached not a few; he thought none could be faved, but those who, by the Sacraments, had a federal right to it; and that these were the seals of the Covenant: So that he left all, who died without the Sacraments, to the uncovenanted mercies of God; and to this he added, that none had a right to give the Sacraments, but those who were commissioned to it; and these were the Apostles, and after them Bishops and Priests ordained by them: It followed upon this, that Sacraments administred by others were of no value. He purfued these notions fo far, that he afferted that the fouls of men were naturally mortal, but that the immortalizing virtue was conveyed by baptism, given by persons episcopally ordained. And yet, after all this, which carried the episcopal function so high, he did not lay the original of that government, on any instruction or warrant in the scripture: But thought it was fet up, in the beginning of the fecond century, after the Apostles were all dead. He wrote very doubtfully of the time, in which the Canon of the New Testament was settled; he thought it was not before the fecond century, and that an extraordinary infpiration was continued in the churches to that very time, to which he ascribed the original of episcopacy. This strange and precarious system was in great credit among us; and the necessity of the Sacrament, and the invalidity of ecclefiaftical func-

functions, when performed by perfons, who were not episcopally ordained, were entertained by many with great applause: This made the Diffenters pass for no Christians, and put all thoughts of reconciling them to us far out of view: And several little books were spread about the nation, to prove the necessity of re-baptizing them, and that they were in a state of damnation 'till that was done; but few were, by these arguments, prevailed upon to be rebaptized: This struck even at the baptism by midwives in the church of Rome; which was practifed and connived at here in England, 'till it was objected in the conference, held at Hampton-Court, foon after King James the First accession to the Crown, and baptism was not 'till then limited to persons in orders: Nothing of this kind was fo much as mentioned in the year 1660, when a great part of the nation had been baptized by Diffenters; but it was now promoted with much heat.

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The Bishops thought it necessary to put a stop to The Bithis new and extravagant doctrine; fo a declaration shops dewas agreed to, first against the irregularity of all bap- signed to tim by persons, who were not in holy orders; but the rethat yet, according to the practice of the primitive baptizing church, and the constant ulage of the church of Dissenters England, no baptism (in or with water, in the name of the Father, Son and Holy Ghoft) ought to be reiterated. The Archbishop of York at first agreed to this; fo it was resolved to publish it, in the name of all the Bishops of England; but he was prevailed on to change his mind; and refused to fign it, pretending that this would encourage irregular baptism: So the Archbishop of Canterbury, with most of the Bishops of his province, But the resolved to offer it to the Convocation. It was clergy did agreed to in the Upper House, the Bishop of Ro-not agree chefter only diffenting: But when it was fent to the Lower House, they would not so much as take it into confideration, but laid it alide; thinking that it would encourage those, who struck at the Dunng B b 2

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dignity of the priesthood. This was all that passed 1712. in Convocation. 10 my grow Beatsbro Vilagooling

Great **fupplies** given.

The fupplies demanded were given, in all about fix millions; there were two lotteries of 1,800,000 l. a-piece, besides the four skillings in the pound, and the malt bill. A motion was made for a clause, to be put in one of the lottery bills, for a commission to enquire into the value and confideration of all the grants, made by King Wil-The Ministers apprehended the difficulty of carrying a money bill, with a tack to it, through the House of Lords; so they prevailed to get it separated from the money-bill, and fent up in a particular one; and undertook to carry it. When it came up to the House of Lords, a great party was made against it; those who continued to pay a respect to the memory of King William, thought it was a very unbecoming return to him, who had delivered the nation from flavery and popery, to cast so particular an indignity on his grants: The bill made all its fleps through the House of Lords to the last, with a small majority of one or two. The Earl of Nottingham was absent the first two days, but came to the House on the last; he said, he always thought those grants were too large, and very unfeatonably made, but he thought there ought to be an equal way of proceeding in that matter; they ought either to refume them all, or to bring all concerned in them, to an equal compofition: He therefore could not approve of this bill, which by a very clear confequence would put it in the power of a fellow-subject, to resume or to cover grants, at his pleafure, and fo it would put the persons, concerned in the grants, into too great a dependence on him. At the last reading of the bill feventy-eight, in person or by proxy, were for the bill; and as many were against it: The votes being equal, by the rule of the House, the negative carried it: So, for that time, the bill was loft. The fred we that the general of the wife. During -316 e will H

During the Session, reports were often given out, that all things were agreed, and that the treaty was as good as finished: But new stories were set on foot, and pretended delays, to put off the expectation of peace; however, in the end of May, we were furprized with letters from the camp, which told us, that the army of the Allies being joined, was 25000 men stronger than the French; an advantage that they never had before during the whole course of the war. That Prince Eugene The Duke therefore proposed, that they should march towards of Orthe head of the Scheld, where the French army dered not lay, and upon their advancing the French would to act ofbe obliged, either to venture on action, or to re-fensively. tire; and in that case Cambray would be left open to the Allies, to fit down before it. The council of war agreed to this, but to their great furprize, the Duke of Ormond shewed orders, not to act offensively against the French; he seemed to be very uneafy with these orders, but said he must obey them. This was much refented by the whole army, and by the Ministers of the Allies at the Hague and at Utrecht: And it struck us here in England with amazement.

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Motions were made upon it, in both Houses of Parliament; for it feemed, we were neither to have peace nor war: So it was proposed, that an address should be made to the Queen, that she would set the Duke of Ormond at liberty, to act in concurrence with the other Generals, and carry on the war, so as to obtain a good peace. Those who opposed this, asked, what proofs they had, of what was faid, concerning the Duke of Ormond's orders; they had only private letters, which were not produced: So, it was faid, there was not ground enough to found an address upon; which ought not to be made, on bare reports. The Ministers would neither confess, nor deny the matter, pretending the oath of fecrecy; yet they af-

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firmed the Duke of Ormond was at liberty to cover a siege. were agreed, and that the

owned by the Lord

A separate . That which prevailed in both Houses, to hinder peace dif- the address, was, that the Ministers in both did affirm, that the peace was agreed on, and would be laid before them in three or four days: It was Treasurer, upon that suggested, that this must be a separate peace, fince the Allies knew nothing of it. The Lord Treasurer said, a separate peace was so base, fo knavish, and so villainous a thing, that every one, who served the Queen knew, they must anfwer it with their heads to the nation; but it would appear to be a fafe and a glorious peace, much more to the honour and interest of the nation, than the preliminaries that were agreed to, three years before; He also affirmed, that the Allies knew of it, and were fatisfied with it; fo the motion fell: And all were in great expectation, to fee what a few days would produce. In order to this, it was proposed to examine into all the proceedings at the Hague, and at Gertruydenberg, in the years 1709 and 1710; this was fet on by a representation made by the Earl of Strafford; for he affirmed in the House of Lords, that those matters had not been fairly represented; he faid, he had his information from one of the two, who had been imployed in those conferences: By this, it was plain he meant Buys. Lord Townshend had informed the House, that those who treated with the French at Gertruydenberg did, at their return, give an account of their negotiation to the Ministers of the Allies, in the pensioner's presence, before they reported it to the States themselves: But upon this, the Earl of Strafford faid, they had been first secretly with the pensioner, who directed them both what to fay, and what to suppress. Upon this, the House made an address to the Queen, desiring her to lay before them all that paffed at that time, and in that negotiation: But nothing followed upon this; for it was faid to be defigned only to amuse the House.

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Surprizes came at this time quick one after an- 1712. other: At Utrecht, on the fecond of June N. S. C the Plenipotentiaries of the States expostulated with The the Plenipotentiaries of the States exportant to the Queen, by Duke of Ormand: He answered, he knew nothing of Briftol of them; but faid, he had received a letter, two faid she days before, from the Queen, in which the com- was free plained that, nowithstanding all the advances she from all her treaties had made, to engage the States to enter with her with the upon a plan of peace, they had not answered her States. as they ought, and as the hoped they would have done: Therefore she did now think herself at liberty, to enter into separate measures, to obtain a peace for her own convenience. The Plenipotentiaries faid, this was contrary to all their alliances and treaties; they thought that, by the deference they had shewed her, on all occasions, they had merited much better usage from her: They knew nothing of any advances made to them, on a plan of peace. The Bishop replied, that confidering the conduct of the States, the Queen thought herfelf disengaged from all alliances and engagements with them: The Bishop did not in express words name the barrier treaty; but he did not except it: So they reckoned it was included, in the general words he had used. This did not agree, with what the Lord Treasurer had faid in the House of Lords: And when the States envoy complained to him, of these declarations made them by the Bishop, all the answer he made was, that he was certainly in a very bad humour, when he talked at that rate.

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On the fifth of June, the Queen came to the The Parliament, and told them on what terms a peace Queen laid might be had: King Philip was to renounce the before the fuccession to the Crown of France, if it should de-Parliament volve on him; and this was to execute itself, by of the putting the next to him into the fuccession: Sicily peace was to be separated from Spain, though it was not yet fettled, who should have it. The protestant suc-

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1712. ceffion was to be secured; and he, who had pretended to the Crown, was no more to be supported. Dunkirk was to be demolished, and Newfoundland to be delivered to England. Gibraltar and Port-Mahon were to remain in our hands: We were also to have the Affiento, a word importing, the furnishing the Spanish West-Indies with slaves from Africa. The Dutch were to have their barrier, except two or three places: And due regard would

be had to all our allies. Addresses Both houses agreed to make addresses of thanks to the Queen, for communicating this plan to houses up- them, defiring her to finish it: An addition to these last words, in conjunction with her allies, was moved in both houses; that so there might be a guaranty fettled for the maintaining the terms of the treaty: But it was rejected, by a great majority in both houses. It was faid, in opposition to it, that it would subject the Queen and the whole treaty, to the pleasure of the allies who might prove backward and intractable: And fince England had born the greatest share of the burthen of the war, it was reasonable that the Queen should be the arbiter of the peace. On the other hand it was faid, that if the allies did not enter into a guaranty we must depend on the faith of the French, and be at their mercy; and fo have nothing to trust to, but the promises of a Court noted, in a course of many years, for a train of perfidy: But many had formed an obstinate resolution to get out of the war on any terms: So nothing that was offered, that feemed to obstruct the arriving speedily at that end, was heard with patience; and no regard was had to the faith of treaties: Yet both houses observed one caution, not to express their being fatisfied with the plan of the peace, though it was covertly infinuated. Mention was also made of our treaties with our allies, and of the protestant fuccession: The Lords, who had all along protested against the steps, that the Court had taken, continuation of Lands over the content then the

entred the reasons of their protesting against the 1712. negative, put on adding the words, in conjunction with her allies, and on the former vote, concerning the orders fent to the Duke of Ormond: These carried in them fuch just and severe reflections on the Ministry, as running the nation into an open breach of all publick trust, and putting every thing into the hands of the French; that by the strength of the majority they were expunged: Yet they were printed, and copies of them were fent over the nation; but nothing could break through that infenfibility, which had flupified the people. A new fet of addresses ran about, full of gross flattery, magnifying the present conduct, with severe reflections on the former Ministry, which some carried back to King William's reign: Some of these addresses mentioned the protestant succession, and the House of Hanover, with zeal; others did it more coldly; and fome made no mention at all of it. And it was univerfally believed, that no addresses were so acceptable to the Ministers, as those of the last fort.

About the middle of June, the fession of Parlia- The end ment came to an end: The Queen in her Speech of the sesfaid, the was glad to find they approved of her fion of Paricheme of peace, though that was in none of the addresses; many, who intended to merit by their officious zeal, had indeed magnified it in both houses, but it was not in either of their addresses. The Earl of Strafford was again sent over, to induce the States to accept the offers, that the French were making, and to confent to a ceffation of arms.

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Prince Eugene ordered Quesnoy to be besieged; The Duke and he, in conjunction with the Duke of Ormond, of Ormond covered the fiege; but, when the place was fo proclaims a cessation streightned, that it could not hold out above two of arms, or three days, the Duke of Ormond sent Prince and left Eugene word, that he had orders to proclaim a Prince Eucessation of arms for two months. Prince Eugene gene's difagreeing

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1712. difagreeing to this, he fignified his orders to all the German troops, that were in the Queen's pay: But the States and the Emperor had foreseen that this might happen, and had negotiated fo effectually with the Princes, to whom these troops belonged, that they had fent orders to their Generals, to continue with Prince Eugene, and to obey his command. This they represented to the Duke of Ormond; and he upon that told them, they should have neither bread nor pay nor their arrears, if they refused to obey his orders: This last seemed unjust, fince they had ferved hitherto, according to agreement; fo that their arrears could not be detained, with any colour of justice. Quesnoy capitulated, and the garrison were made prisoners of war. It was faid, that the Court of France had promifed, to put Denkirk in the Queen's hands, as a fure pledge of performing all that they had stipulated, in order to a general peace; this was executed, in the beginning of July; and a body of our troops, with a squadron of ships, were sent to take posfession of the place. The Duke of Ormond made a fecond attempt, on the Generals of the German troops, to fee if they would agree to the ceffation of arms: But they excused themselves, upon the orders they had received from their masters: So he proclaimed the ceffation, at the head of the English troops; upon which he separated himself from Prince Eugene's army, and retired to Ghendt and Bruges, possessing himself of them: The fortified places, near the frontier, had orders to let the officers pass through, but not to suffer the troops to possess themselves of them. The withdrawing the English forces in this manner, from the confederate army, was censured, not only as a manifest breach of faith and of treaties, but as treacherous in the highest and basest degree. Duke of Ormond had given the States fuch affurances, of his going along with them through the whole campaign, that he was let into the fecrets of

Quesnoy taken.

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of all all their counsels, which by that confidence were all 1712. known to the French: And, if the auxiliary German troops had not been prepared to disobey his orders, it was believed he, in conjunction with the French army, would have forced the States to come into the new measures. But that was happily prevented; yet all this conduct of our General was applauded at home as great, just and wife; and our people were led to think it a kind of triumph, upon Dunkirk's being put into our hands; not confidering that we had more truly put ourselves into the hands of the French, by this open breach of faith; after which, the confederates could no longer trust or depend on us. Nor was this only the act of the Court and Ministry, but it became the act of the nation, which by a general voice did not only approve of it, but applaud it.

Prince Eugene's next attempt was upon Lan- Landrecy dreey, in which it feemed probable that he would befieged. freceed; but this prospect, and indeed the whole campaign, had a fatal reverse: There was a body of 8000 or 10000 men posted at Denain, on the Scheld, commanded by the Earl of Albemarle, to fecure the conveying bread and ammunition to the army, and to the fiege. Villars made a motion, as if he deligned to give Prince Eugene battle; but after a feint that way, he turned quick upon this body, that lay on both fides of the river, with only one bridge of pontoons: The rest had been fent to the fiege of Landrecy; and there was not a supply of more brought. That bridge, with A great the weight that was on it, broke; fo the bodies loss at Decould not be joined: But military men affured me, hain brought a that, if it had not been for that misfortune, Vil-reverse on lars's attempt might have turned fatally on himself, the camand to the ruin of his whole army. But in con-paign. clusion, he gave them a total defeat, and fo made himself master of those posts, which they were to defend. This opened a new scene; it not only forced the raifing the fiege of Landrecy, but gave

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Villars an occasion to seize on Marchiennes, and fome other places, where he found great stores of artillery and ammunition; and furnished him likewife with an opportunity of fitting down before Doway. What errours were committed, either in the counsels or orders, or in the execution of them. and at whose door these ought to be laid, is far above my understanding in military matters: But be that as it will, this misfortune ferved not a little to raife the Duke of Marlborough's character, under whole command no fuch thing had ever happened. The effects of this diffrace were great; Doway was taken, after a long and brave defence; Prince Eugene tried to raise the siege, but did not succeed in it: Indeed the States would not put things to so great a venture, after such a loss; the garrison were made prisoners of war. Quesnoy was next besieged; the great artillery, that had been employed in the fiege, were left in the place: The garrison improved that advantage; so that the

taking it cost the enemy very dear.

Diftracti-Hague.

These losses created a great distraction in the ons at the Counsels at the Hague; many were inclined to accept of a ceffation; the Emperor and the Princes of the empire made great offers to the States, to perfuade them to continue the war; at the fame time, the French grew very infolent upon their fuccesses, and took occasion, from a quarrel between the footmen of one of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, and one of theirs, to demand an extravagant reparation; which the Dutch not complying with, a full ftop was put to all proceedings at Utrecht, for fome months. Our Court took some pains to remove that obstruction; but the French King's pride being now again in exaltation, he was intractable: St. John, being made Viscount Bolingbroke, was fent over with secret instructions, to the Court of France; where, as it was believed, the peace was fully concluded: But all, that was published upon his return, was a new cessation of arms, both by Sestin V

1712.

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fea and land, for four months longer. Duke Hamilton was named to go Ambassador to France, and Lord Lexington to Spain. The Earl of Strafford continued to press the States, to come into the Queen's measures, which 'twas faid he managed with great imperiousness: The States resolved to offer their plan to the Queen, in which they pressed the restoring Strazbourg to the empire, to have Valenciennes demolished, and Condé added to their barrier, and that the old tariff for trade should be again restored.

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The Lord Lexington went first to Spain, where The rethe Cortes were fummoned, in which that King did nunciation solemnly renounce, for himself and his heirs, the of the sucright of succession to the Crown of France; and li-cessions in mited the fuccession to the Crown of Spain, after his France. own posterity, to the House of Savoy. The like renunciation was made fome months after that, by the Princes of France to the Crown of Spain: And Philip was declared incapable of fucceeding to the Crown of France. It was fomething strange, to see so much weight laid on these renunciations, fince the King of France had so often, and so solemnly declared (upon his claiming, in the right of his Queen, the Spanish Netherlands; when the renunciation made by his Queen before the marriage, pursuant to the treaty of the Pyrenees, of all rights of fuccession to her father's dominions, was objected to him) that no renunciation, which was but a civil act, could deltroy the rights of blood, founded on the laws of nature: But this was now forgot, or very little confidered. At this time the order of the Garter had nine vacant stalls; so fix Knights were at one time promoted, the Dukes of Beaufort, Hamilton, and Kent; and the Earls of Oxford, Powlet, and Strafford. The Duke of Hamilton's being appointed to go to the Court of France, gave melancholy fpeculations to those, who thought him much in the Pretender's interest: He was considered, not only in Scotland, but here in England, as the head of his party; but a difmal accident put an end

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Duke of Hamilton and Lord Mohun both killed in a combat.

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He and the Lord Mohun were engaged in some fuits of law; and a violent hatred was kindled between them: So that, upon a very high provocation, the Lord Mohun fent him a challenge, which he tried to decline: but both being hurried by those falle points of honour, they fatally went out to Hyde Park, in the middle of November, and fought with fo violent an animolity, that neglecting the rules of art, they feemed to run on one another, as if they tried who should kill first; in which they were both fo unhappily fuccessful, that the Lord Mohun was killed outright, and Duke Hamilton died in a few minutes after. I will add no character of him: I am forry I cannot fay so much good of him as I could wish, and I had too much kindness for him, to fay any evil without necessity. Nor shall I make any reflections on the deplorable effect of those unchristian and barbarous maxims, which have prevailed founiverfally, that there is little hope left of feeing them rooted out of the minds of men; the false notions of honour and courage being too ftrong, to be weighed down by prudent of religious confiderations.

The Duke The Duke of Shrewfbury was, upon Duke Haof Shrewfmilton's death, named for the embally to France, and went over in the end of December: The fame to France, and Duke vacht, that carried him to Calais, brought over the Duke de Aumont, the French Ambassador, who was a good-natured and generous man, of profule expence, throwing handfuls of money often out of his coach, as he went about the streets: He was not thought a man of buliness, and seemed to employ himself chiefly, in maintaining the dignity of his character, and making himfelf acceptable to the na-

tion. I turn next to foreign affairs, beginning

The af-North.

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The war in Pomerania went on but flowly, tho' the fairs in the Czar and the Kings of Denmark and Poland joined their forces; upon which it was thought, the interest of Sweden must have sunk in those parts: But

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the feebleness of one or other of those Princes lost 1712. them great advantages. Steinbock, the Swedish General, feeing the Danes were separated from their allies, made a quick march toward them; and, though the Saxons had joined them, before he came up, yet he attacked them. The action was hot, and lasted some hours; but it ended in a complear victory on the Swedish fide. At the fame time the Swedes were animated, by reports from Constantinople, which gave them hopes of the war, between the Turks and the Czar being like to break our again, the King of Sweden continued to follicit, and in which he had all the affiltance, that the French could give him.

This gave the Emperor great apprehenfions, that The Emdiforders in Hungary might follow upon it, which peror prewould defeat the measures he had taken to settle pares for matters in that kingdom, fo that being fafe on that with fide, he might turn his whole force against France, France; and by that means, encourage the States to continue the war. Those in Holland, who pressed the accepting the offers that France made them, reprefented that as a thing not possible to be supported: The promises of the Emperor and the Princes of the empire had so often failed them, that they faid, they could not be relied on: And the diffractions in the North made them apprehend, that those Princes might be obliged to recall their troops, which were in the fervice of the States.

The Earl of Strafford was fent back to the Hague, A new with the French plan, which came to be called the Barrier Queen's plan : But to draw them in the more, he with the was ordered to enter upon a new Barrier Treaty States. with them, by which the former was to be fet alide: By it the States were to maintain the fuccession to the Crown, when required to it by the Queen, but not otherwife. This gave still new occasions for jealousy: For whereas, by the former treaty, they were thrictly bound to maintain the fuccession, so that they were obliged to oppose any attempts they law made against it; they were by this treaty oblig-

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1712. ed to flay 'till they were fent to: And if our Minifters should come to entertain ill designs that way, they would take care no notice should be given to the States. The barrier for the Dutch came far fhort of the former; the States wrote another letter to the Queen, defiring her to interpole, for reftoring Strazbourg to the empire, for adding Condé to their barrier, and for fettling the commerce on the foot of the antient tariff; as also for obtaining more reasonable terms for the Emperor: But things were fo fixed between the Court of France and ours, that there was no room for intercession.

The death

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The Earl of Godolphin died of the stone in Sepof the Earl tember : He was the man of the clearest head, the of Godol- calmest temper, and the most incorrupt of all the phin. Ministers of State, I have ever known. After havracter. ing been thirty years in the treasury, and during nine of those Lord Treasurer, as he was never once fuspected of corruption, or of suffering his servants to grow rich under him, so in all that time his estate was not increased by him to the value of 4000 l. He ferved the Queen with fuch a particular affection and zeal, that he studied to possess all people with great personal esteem for her: And she herself seemed to be so sensible of this for many years, that if courts were not different from all other places in the of Sarawiworld, it might have been thought, that his wife to Presses management at home, and the Duke of Marlborough's glorious conduct abroad, would have fixed them in their posts, above the little practices of an artful favourite, and the cunning of a man, who has not hitherto shewed any token of a great genius, and is only eminent in the arts of deluding those that hearken to him. on it the Stitles were no my

The Duke of Mariborough went to live beyond fea.

Upon the Earl of Godolphin's death, the Duke of Marlborough resolved to go and live beyond sea; he executed it in the end of November; and his Dutchess followed him in the beginning of February. This was variously censured; some pretended it was the giving up and abandoning the concerns of

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his country; and they represented it as the effect of 1712. fear, with too anxious a care to fecure himself: Others were glad he was fafe out of ill hands; whereby, if we should fall into the convulsions of a civil war, he would be able to affift the Elector of Hanover, as being so entirely beloved and confided in, by all our military men; whereas if he had staid in England, it was not to be doubted, but, upon the least shadow of suspicion, he would have been immediately fecured; whereas now he would be at liberty, being beyond fea, to act as there might be occasion for it.

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There were two fuits begun against him; the one was for the two and a half per. Cent. that the foreign Princes were content should be deducted for contingencies, of which an account was formerly given; the other was, for arrears due to the builders of Blenheim House. The Queen had given orders for building it with great magnificence; all the bargains with the workmen were made in her name, and by authority from her: and in the preambles of the acts of Parliament, that confirmed the grant of Woodstock to him and his heirs, it was faid the Queen built the House for him: Yet now, that the tradefinen were let run into an arrear of 30000 l. the Queen refused to pay any more; and set them upon fuing the Duke of Marlborough for it, though he had never contracted with any of them: Upon his going beyond fea, both those suits were staid. which gave occasion to people to imagine, that the Ministry, being disturbed to see so much publick respect put on a man, whom they had used so ill, had fet these prosecutions on foot, only to render his itay in England uneafy to him.

Our army continued this winter about Ghendt We poffels and Bruges; and we kept a fort of garrison in Dunkirk Dunkirk: But that was so ill supplied with artille- in a very ry and ammunition, that it was visible they were manner. not in a condition to keep the place, any longer than the French were willing to let them stay in it.

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And during that time, they were neither allowed to have a place to worship God, nor to bury their dead in, though by a mortality that raged there fome thousands died. Our Ministers continued still to press the States and the Emperor to come into the Queen's measures; the Emperor, on some occasions, talked in a very positive strain, as if he was refolved to put all to hazard, rather than fubmit to fuch hard conditions; but the apprehensions of a war in the neighbourhood of Hungary, and the low state of his treasure, forced him to come down from that heighth, and engage the States to procure better terms for him: The demand of Strazbourg was rejected by the French, with so positive an air, that our Court did not move in it more; nor did it appear, that we obtained any one condition of the French, but what was offered in their own project.

The Barrier Treaty figned.

In conclusion, the States were forced to yield in every particular; and then our Ministers, to give fome feeming content to the nation, and to bring the States into some confidence with them, ordered the new Barrier Treaty to be figned: And it was given out by their creatures, that the French were highly offended at their figning this; making it previous to a general peace, and a fort of guaranty for it. Thus, after all the declamations that were made on the first Barrier Treaty, the Ministers came into a new one, which though not fo fecure as the former, yet was liable to all the objections, that were made against that. The French, as we were affured, in the progress of the treaty, used all that course of chicane, for which they have been so long famous: And, after all the steps our Court had made, to get them a treaty of their own projecting, we were not at last able to gain any one point upon them: They feemed to reckon, that now we had put ourselves in their hands, and that they might use us as they pleased.

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A proclamation was fet out in the end of Novem- 1713. ber, giving notice that the session of Parliament would be opened on the thirteenth of January: But Seven prothough the proroguing the Parliament, after fuch a rogations proclamation, was without a precedent, yet we ment, were put off by feven prorogations, some for a fortnight, and some for three weeks: It was said, we were daily expecting a fudden conclusion of the treaty; and 'till all was finished, the Ministers could not know what aids were to be demanded. What occasioned all these delays, is yet a secret to me; fo I can write nothing of it. Many expresses were sent to Vienna, and the returns to those could not come quick. The demands for refloring the Electors of Bavaria and Cologn, together with a compensation for their losses, were in-The Emperor could not do the former of these, without the diet, by whose authority they were put under the imperial Ban: But neither the Emperor nor diet could answer the other demand, it rose so high.

While we were at home uneafy at the many pro- Affairs of rogations and delays, the news from beyond fea open-Sweden. ed a new scene. The Swedes broke into Holstein, but were so closely followed by the Danes and Muscovites, that their retreat by land was cut off, and the Danish ships shut them from the Baltick sea: they made great waste in the King of Denmark's share of Holstein, and burnt Altena, a great and rich village, within a mile of Hambourg, which being an open place, in no fort fortified, the burning it was thought contrary to the laws of war.

The King of Pruffia died in February; he was in The King his own person a virtuous man, and full of zeal in of Prussia's the matters of religion; he raised above two hundred death. new churches in his dominions; he was weak, and much in the power of his Ministers and flatterers; but was fo apt to hearken to whilpers, that he chang-'ed twice the whole let of his Ministry: His assum-C c 2

1713. ing the title of a King, and his affecting an extraor. dinary magnificence in his Court, brought a great charge on himself, and on all about him, which made him a severe master to his subjects, and set him on many pretentions, chiefly those relating to the Prince of Frizeland, which were not thought well grounded. He was fucceeded in his dignity by his fon, who had hitherto appeared to affect a roughness of behaviour, and seemed fond of his grenadiers, not only beyond all other military men, but beyond all men whatsoever: He seemed to have a warlike inclination; but what he will prove, now that he is on the Throne, must be left to time.

of Sweden's misfortunes.

The King The appearances of a new war between the Turk and the Czar varied so often, that it was doubtful in what it might end: The King of Sweden used all possible means to engage the Turk in it; but he threw himself, by his intractable obstinacy, into great dangers: The party at the Port, that opposed the war, studied to get rid of that King, and of his importunities. Orders were fent him to march back into his kingdom: And they undertook to procure him a fafe paffage to it; but he treated the person, that was sent with this message, with great infolence, and fortified himself, as well as he could, with the Swedes that were about him, and resolved to defend himself. A force much superior to his was brought against him; but he maintained himfelf fo resolutely in his house, that some hundreds of those who attacked him were killed: The Turks upon that fet fire to the house, whereupon he was forced to furrender, and was put under a guard; and most of his Swedes were fold for slaves; he was carried to a house near Adrianople, but not fuffered to come to Court: only the Sultan disowned the violence used to his person. In the mean while, the Czar shipped an army from Petersburgh, that landed in Finland: The Swedes were not able to stand before him; every place, as he advanced, submitted to him; and he was now master of Abo,

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the capital of Finland, and of that whole province. 1713. Steinbock, with his army, maintained himself in Tonningen, as long as their provision lasted: But, all supplies being carefully stopped, he was forced at last to deliver up himself and his army prisoners of war; and these were the best troops the Swedes had, to that Sweden was struck with a general consternation: To this diffracted state has that furious Prince abandoned his own kingdom. And there I must leave it, to return to our own affairs.

After a long expectation we at last knew, that on The treat the thirteenth of March the Treaty of Peace between ties fign-England, France, and the States was figned: Up- the fession on this, the Parliament was opened on the ninth of of Parlia-The Queen in her speech told the two ment Houses, that she had now concluded a peace, and opened. had obtained a further fecurity for the Protestant fuccession, and that she was in an intire union with the House of Hanover; she asked of the Commons, the necessary supplies, and recommended to both Houses, the cultivating the arts of peace, with a reflection upon faction. Upon this speech, a debate arose in the House of Lords, concerning some words, that were moved to be put in the address, (which of course was to be made to the Queen) applauding the conditions of the peace, and the fecurity for the Protestant succession: This was opposed, fince we did not yet know what the conditions of the peace were, nor what that fecurity was; all that appeared was, that the Pretender was gone out of france into the Barrois, a part of Lorrain, for which that Duke did homage to the Crown of France. An address of congratulation was agreed to, but without any approbation of the peace. The House of Commons observed the same caution in their address. But upon this, a new set of addresses ran through the nation, in the usual strains of flattery and false eloquence. The Parliament sate above a month, before the articles of peace (and of a treaty of commerce, made at that fame time) Cc3

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'till the ratifications were exchanged, it was not proper to publish them; but when that was done, they were communicated to both Houses, and printed.

The fubflance of the treaties of peace and commerce

By the treaty of peace, the French King was bound to give neither harbour nor affiftance to the Pretender, but acknowledged the Queen's title and the Protestant succession, as it was settled by several acts of Parliament: Dunkirk was to be razed in a time limited, within five months, after the ratifications; but that was not to be begun, 'till an equivalent for it was put in the hands of France Newfoundland, Hudson's Bay, and St. Christopher's were to be given to England; but Cape Breton was left to the French, with a liberty to dry their fish on Newfoundland: This was the main substance of the articles of peace. The treaty of commerce fettled a free trade, according to the tariff in the year 1664, excepting some commodities, that were subjected to a new tariff in the year 1699, which was fo high, that it amounted to a prohibition: All the productions of France were to come into England under no other duties, but those that were laid on the fame productions from other countries; and when this was lettled, then commissaries were to be fent to London, to agree and adjust all matters relating to trade: The treaty of commerce with Spain was not yet finished. As for the allies, Portugal and Savoy were fatisfied; the Emperor was to have the dutchy of Milan, the kingdom of Naples, and the Spanish Netherlands: Sicily was to be given to the Duke of Savoy, with the title of King: And Sardinia with the fame title, was to be given to the Elector of Bavaria, in lieu of his losses: The States were to deliver up Lisle, and the little places about it: and, besides the places of which they were already possessed, they were to have Namur, Charleroy, Luxembourg, Ypres, and Newport: The King of Prullia was to have the Upper Guelder, in lieu of Orange,

Orange, and the other estates, which the family 1713. had in Franche Comte: This was all that I think necessary to insert here, with relation to our treaty: The Emperor was to have time to the first of June, to declare his accepting of it. It did not appear what equivalent the King of France was to have for Dunkirk: No mention was made of it in the treaty; to the House of Commons made an address to the Queen, desiring to know what that equivalent was. Some weeks passed before they had an answer; at last the Queen by a message said, the French King had that equivalent already in his own hands; but; we were still in the dark as to that, no further explanation being made of it. As to Newfoundland, it was thought that the French settling at Cape Breton, instead of Placentia, would be of great advantage to them with relation to the fishery, which is the only thing that makes fettlements in those parts of any value. The English have always pretended, that the first discovery of Newfoundland being made in Henry the Seventh's time, the right to it was in the Crown of England. The French had leave given them in King Charles the First's time to fish there, paying tribute, as an acknowledgment of that licence: It is true, they carried this much further, during the civil wars; and this grew to a much greater heighth in the reign of King Charles the Second: But in King William's time, an act of Parliament passed, afferting the right of the Crown to Newfoundland, laying open the trade thither to all the subjects of Great Britain, with a positive and conftant exclusion of all aliens and foreigners: Thele were the reflections on the treaty of peace; but there were more important objections made to the treaty of commerce, During King Charles the Second's reign, our trade with France was often and loudly complained of, as very prejudicial to the nation; there was a commission appointed in the year 1674, to adjust the conditions of our commerce with that nation, and then it appeared, in a scheme C ¢ 4

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1713. that was prepared by very able merchants, that we loft every year a million of money by our trade this ther. This was then fo well received, that the scheme was entred into the journals of both Houses of Parliament, and into the books of the custom-house: But the court at that time favoured the interests of France fo much, preferably to their own, that the trade went still on 'till the year 1678, when the Parliament laid, upon all French commodities, fuch a duty as amounted to a prohibition, and was to last for three years, and to the end of the next fession of Parliament: At the end of the three years. King Charles called no more Parliaments; and that act was repealed in King James's Parliament: But, during the whole last war, high duties were laid on all the productions and manufactures of France; which by this treaty were to be no higher charged, than the same productions from other countries. It was faid that, if we had been as often beat by the French, as they had been by us, this would have been thought a very hard treaty; and if the articles of our commerce had been settled, before the Duke of Ormond was ordered to separate his troops from the confederates, the French could not have pretended to draw us into fuch terms, as they had infifted on fince that time, because we put ourselves into their power. We were engaged by our treaty with Portugal, that their wines should be charged a third part lower than the French wines; but if the duties were, according to this treaty of commerce, to be made equal, then confidering the difference of freight, which is more than double from Portugal, the French wines would be much cheaper; and the nation generally liking them better, by this means we should not only break our treaties with Portugal, but if we did not take off their wines, we must lose their trade, which was at present the most advantageous, that we drove any where: For besides a great vent of our manufactures, we brought over yearly

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next and days yearly great returns of gold from thence; four, 1713. five, and fix hundred thousand pounds a year. We had brought the filk manufacture here to fo great perfection, that about 300000 people were maintained by it. For carrying this on, we brought great quantities of filk from Italy and Turky, by which people in those countries came to take off as great quantities of our manufactures: So that our demand for filk had opened good markets for our woollen goods abroad, which must fail, if our manufacture of filk at home should be lost: Which. if once we gave a free vent for filk stuffs from France among us, must soon be the case; since the cheapness of provisions and of labour in France. would enable the French to underfell us, even at our own markets. Our linnen and paper manufactures would likewise be ruined by a free importation of the fame goods from France. These things came to be so generally well understood; that even, while flattering addresses were coming to Court from all the parts of the illand, petitions came from the towns and counties concerned in trade, fetting forth the prejudice they apprehended from this treaty of commerce. The Ministers used all possible arts to bear this clamour down; they called it faction, and decried it with a boldness, that would have furprized any, but those who had observed the methods, they had taken for many years, to vent the foulest calumnies, and the falfest milreprefentations possible. But the matter came to be fo univerfally apprehended, that it could not be difguifed.

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oppose their being charged with the duty on malt.

1713. Should be laid on the whole island: It was carried in the affirmative, of which the Scots complained The Scots heavily, as a burden that their country could not bear: And whereas it was faid, that those duties ought to be laid equally on all the subjects of the united kingdom, the Scots infifted on an article of the Union, by which it was stipulated, that no duty fhould be laid on the malt in Scotland during the war, which ought to be observed religiously. They faid, it was evident, the war with Spain was not yet ended; no peace with that Crown was yet proclaimed, nor fo much as figned: And, though it was as good as made, and was every day expected, yet it was a maxim in the construction of all laws. that odious matters ought to be strictly understood, whereas matters of favour were to be more liberally interpreted. It was farther faid on the Scotch fide. that this duty was, by the very words of the act, to be applied to deficiencies during the war: So. this act was, upon the matter, making Scotland pay that duty during the war, from which the articles of the Union did by express words exempt them. A great number of the English were convinced of the equity of these grounds, that the Scots went on; but the majority was on the other side. So, when the bill had passed through the House of Commons, all the Scots of both Houses met together, and agreed to move for an act, diffolving the Union; they went first to the Queen, and told her how grievous and indeed intolerable this duty would be to their country, fo that they were under a necessity to try, how the Union might be broken. The Queen seemed uneasy at the motion; she studied to divert them from it, and affured them that her officers should have orders to make it easy to them. This was understood to imply that the duty should not be levied; but they knew this could not be depended on: So the motion was made in the House of Lords, and most of the Lords of that nation spoke to it: They set

And moved to have the Union diffolved. forth all the hardships, that they lay under fince 1713. the Union; they had no more a council in Scotland; their Peers at present were the only persons in the whole island, that were judged incapable of Peerage by descent; their laws were altered in matters of the highest importance, particularly in matters of treason; and now an imposition was to be laid on their malt, which must prove an intolerable burden to the poor of that country, and force them to drink water. Upon all these reasons they moved for liberty to bring in a bill, to dissolve the Union, in which they would give full fecurity, for maintaining the Queen's prerogative, and for fecuring the Protestant succession. This was opposed with much zeal by the Ministers, but was supported by others; who, though they did not intend to give up the Union, yet thought it reasonable to give a hearing to this motion, that they might fee how far the Protestant succession could be secured, in case it should be entertained; but the majority were for rejecting the motion: When the malt-bill was brought up to the Lords, there was fuch an opposition made to it, that fifty-fix voted against it, but fixty-four were for it, and so it passed.

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The matter of the greatest consequence in this Abill for Seffion was, a bill for fettling the commerce with rendring France, according to the treaty, and for taking off the treaty of comthe prohibitions and high duties, that were laid on merce the productions of France. The traders in the city with of London, and those in all the other parts of France England were alarmed, with the great prejudice effectual. this would bring on the whole nation. The Turky Company, those that traded to Portugal and Italy, and all who were concerned in the woollen and filk manufactures, appeared before both Houses, and let forth the great mischief, that a commerce with France, on the foot of the treaty, would bring upon the nation; while none appeared on the other side, to answer their arguments, or to set forth the

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advantage of fuch a commerce. It was manifest. that none of the trading bodies had been confulted in it; and the Commissioners for trade and plantations had made very material observations on the first project, which was fent to them for their opinion: And afterwards, when this present project was formed, it was also transmitted to that Board by the Queen's order, and they were required to make their remarks on it: but Arthur Moor, who had rifen up from being a footman without any education, to be a great dealer in trade, and was the person of that Board, in whom the Lord Treafurer confided most, moved that they might first read it every one a-part, and then debate it; and he defired to have the first perusal: So he took it away, and never brought it back to them, but gave it to the Lord Bolingbroke, who carried it to Paris, and there it was settled. The bill was very feebly maintained by those who argued for it; yet the majority went with the bill 'till the last day; and then the opposition to it was so strong, that the Ministers seemed inclined to let it fall: But it was not then known, whether this was only a feint, or whether the instances of the French Ambassador, and the engagements, that our Ministers were under to that Court, prevailed for carrying it on. It was brought to the last step; and then a great many of those, who had hitherto gone along with the Court, broke from them in this matter, and bestirred themselves so effectually, that when it came to the last division, 185 were for the bill, and 194 were against it: By so small a majority was a bill of fuch great importance loft. But the House of Commons, to soften the ill constructions that might be made of their rejecting this bill, made an address to the Queen, in which they thanked her for the peace she had concluded, and for the foundation laid for fettling our commerce; and prayed her to name commissaries to regulate and finish that matter. To -Maybe

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To this the Queen fent an answer, of a singular composition: She faid, she was glad to fee they were fo well pleafed with the treaty of peace and commerce, that the had made, and affured them that she would use her best endeavours to see all the advantages, that the had stipulated for her subjects, performed: This was furprizing, fince the House of Commons had fufficiently shewed, how little they were pleased with the treaty of commerce, by their rejecting the bill, that was offered to confirm it; and this was infinuated in their address itself: But it was pleasantly faid, that the Queen answered them, according to what ought to have been in their address, and not according to what was in it; belides it was observable, that her promise, to maintain what was already stipulated, did not at all an-fwer the prayer of their address. This was all that passed in this session of Parliament with relation to It was once apprehended, that the the peace. Ministers would have moved for an act, or at least for an address, approving the peace; and upon that I prepared a speech, which I intended to make on the subject: It was the only speech, that I ever prepared beforehand; but fince that matter was never brought into the House, I had no occafion to make it; yet I think proper to infert it here, that I may deliver down my thoughts of this great transaction to posterity.

" MY Lords, this matter now before you, A speech I as it is of the greatest importance, so it prepared may be seen in very different lights; I will approbation of the most meddle with the political view of it; I too of the " leave that to perfons, who can judge and speak peace " of it much better than I can: I will only offer should be to you what appears to me, when I confider it, moved in the with relation to the rules of morality and reli- House of gion; in this I am fure I act within my proper Lords. " Iphere. Some things stick so with me, that I " could have no quiet in my conscience, nor think

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" I had answered the duty of my function, if I " did not make use of the freedom of speech, " that our constitution and the privileges of this " house allow me: I am the more encouraged to do this, because the bringing those of our order into publick councils, in which we have now fuch a share, was originally intended for this very " end, that we should offer such considerations, as arise from the rules of our holy religion, in all " matters that may come before us. In the opening my fense of things, I may be forced to use " fome words, that may perhaps appear fevere: "I cannot help it, if the nature of these affairs is " fuch, that I cannot speak plainly of them, in a softer strain: I intend not to reflect on any " person: And I am sure I have such a prosound respect for the Queen, that no part of what I " may fay, can be understood to reflect on her in " any fort: Her intentions are, no doubt, as she " declares them to be, all for the good and hap-" piness of her people; but it is not to be supoposed, that she can read long treaties, or carry the articles of them in her memory: So if things " have been either concealed from her, or mifrepresented to her, she can do no wrong: And, if " any fuch thing has been done, we know on whom our constitution lays the blame.

"The treaties that were made fome years ago " with our allies are in print; both the grand " alliance, and fome subsequent ones: We see " many things in these, that are not provided for "by this peace; it was in particular stipulated, " that no peace should be treated, much less con-" cluded, without the confent of the allies. But, " before I make any observations on this, I must " defire you will consider how facred a thing the " publick faith, that is engaged in treaties and

alliances, should be esteemed.

"I hope, I need not tell you, that even hea-" then nations valued themselves upon their fidese lity, bad I "

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" lity, in a punctual observing of all their treaties, " and with how much infamy they branded the " violation of them: If we confider that, which " revealed religion teaches us to know, that man " was made after the image of God, the God of " all truth, as we know who is the father of lyes; "God hates the deceitful man, in whose mouth " there is no faithfulnels. In that less perfect re-" ligion of the Jews, when the Gibeonites had, " by a fraudulent proceeding, drawn Joshua and " the Ifraelites into a league with them, it was " facredly observed; and the violation of it, some " ages after, was feverely punished. And, when " the last of the Kings of Judah shook off the " fidelity, to which he had bound himself to the "King of Babylon, the Prophet thereupon faid " with indignation, shall he break the oath of "God, and prosper? The swearing deceitfully is " one of the worst characters; and he who swears " to his own hurt, and changes not, is among the " best. It is a maxim of the wifest of Kings, "that the throne is established by righteousness. Treaties are of the nature of oaths; and when " an oath is asked to confirm a treaty, it is never " denied. The best account that I can give of " the difuse of adding that sacred seal to treaties is " this:

"The Popes had for some ages possessed themleves of a power, to which they had often recourse, of dissolving the faith of treaties, and
the obligation of oaths: The famous, but satal
flory of Ladislaus, King of Hungary, breaking
his faith to Amurath the Turk, by virtue of a
papal dispensation, is well known. One of the
last publick acts of this fort was, when Pope
Clement the seventh absolved Francis the first,
from the treaty made and sworn to at Madrid,
while he was a prisoner there: The severe revenge that Charles the fifth took of this, in the
fack of Rome, and in keeping that Pope for

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forme months a prisoner, has made Popes more cautious, fince that time, than they were formerly: This also drew such heavy but just reproaches, on the papacy, from the reformers, that forme ftop feems now to be put to fuch a barefaced protection of perjury. But the late King told me, that he understood from the German Protestant Princes, that they believed the confesiors of Poplish Princes had faculties from Rome, for doing this as effectually, though more fecretly: 'He added, that they knew it went for a maxim among Popish Princes, that 'es their word and faith bound them as they were es men, and members of Society; but that their oaths, being acts of religion, were subject to the "direction of their confesiors; and that they, apprehending this, did, in all their treaties with the Princes of that religion, depend upon their honour, but never afked the confirmation of an es eath, which had been the practice of former ages. The Protestants of France thought they had gained an additional fecurity, for observing the edict of Nantes, when the fwearing to ob-" ferve it was made a part of the coronation oath: But it is probable, this very thing undermined and ruined it. "Grotius, Puffendorf, and others who have

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wrote of the law of nations, lay this down for a " rule, that the nature of a treaty, and the tie "that arises out of it, is not altered by the having or not having an oath; the oath ferves only to Pernicies, " heighten the obligation. They do also agree in this, that confederacies do not bind States, to Conatus. ee carry on a war to their utter ruin; but that Princes and States are bound to use their utmost efforts, in maintaining them : And it is agreed

" by all, who have treated of these matters, that " the common enemy, by offering to any one confederate all his pretentions, cannot justify

" his departing from the confederacy; because it

" was entered into with that view, that all the pretentions, upon which the confederacy was made, should be insisted on or departed from,

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" by common confent. "It is true, that in confederacies, where allies " are bound to the performance of feveral articles, " as to their quota's or shares, if any one fails in " the part he was bound to, the other confederates " have a right to demand a reparation for his non-" performance: But even in that case, allies are " to act as friends, by making allowances for " what could not be helped, and not as enemies " by taking advantages, on defign to difengage " them from their allies. It is certain, allies for-" feit their right to the alliance, if they do not per-" form their part: But the failure must be evident, " and an expostulation must be first made: And, " if upon fatisfaction demanded, it is not given, " then a protestation should be made, of such " non-performance; and the rest of the confede-" rates are at liberty, as to him who fails on his "'part: These are reckoned among the customs " and laws of nations: And, fince nothing of this " kind has been done, I cannot fee how it can be " made out, that the tie of the confederacy, and by " consequence, that the publick faith has not been " first broken on our side.

"My Lords, I cannot reconcile the carrying on a treaty with the French, without the knowledge and concurrence of the other confederate

States and Princes, and the concluding it, without the consent of the Emperor, the principal confederate, not to mention the visible uneasiness that
has appeared in the others, who seem to have
been forced to consent, by declarations, if not
by threatnings, from hence: I say, I cannot reconcile this, with the articles of the grand alliance, and the other later treaties, that are in
print: This seems to come within the charge
of the prophet against those who deal treache-

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" roufly, with those who had not dealt treacherously " with them; upon which, the threatening that fol-" lows may be justly apprehended: It will have a " ftrange found among all Christians, but more " particularly among the reformed, when it is re-" ported, that the Plenipotentiary of the head of " the reformed Princes, faid openly to the other " Plenipotentiaries, that the Queen held herself " free from all her treaties and alliances: If this " be fet for a precedent, here is a short way of dif-" penfing with the publick faith; and if this was spoken by one of our prelates, I am afraid it " will leave a heavy reproach on our church; and, " to speak freely, I am afraid it will draw a much " heavier curse after it. My Lords, there is a "God in heaven, who will judge all the world, " without respect of persons: Nothing can pros-" per without his bleffing: He can blaft all the " counsels of men, when laid in fraud and deceit, " how cunningly foever they may be either con-" trived or disguised: And I must think that a " peace made, in opposition to the express words " of fo many treaties, will prove a curse instead of " a bleffing to us: God is provoked by fuch pro-" ceedings, to pour heavy judgments on us, for " the violation of a faith io often given, which is fo openly broken: By this our nation is dif-" honoured, and our church difgraced: And I " dread to think, what the confequence of those " things is like to prove. I would not have ex-" pressed myself in such a manner, if I had not " thought, that I was bound to it by the duty " that I owe to Almighty God, by my zeal for " the Queen, and the church, and by my love to " my country. Upon fo great an occasion, I " think my post in the church and in this house " lays me under the strictest obligations to dis-" charge my conscience, and to speak plainly with-" out fear or flattery, let the effect of it, as to my-" self, be what it will: I shall have the more quiet Valuer

" in my own mind, both living and dying, for 1713. " having done that, which feemed to me an in-

" dispensable duty.

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" I hope this house will not bring upon them-" felves and the nation, the blame and guilt of " approving that, which feems to be much more " justly censurable: The reproach that may be-" long to this treaty, and the judgments of God, " that may follow on it, are now what a few only " are concerned in. A national approbation is a " thing of another nature, the publick breach of " faith, in the attack that was made on the Smyrna. " fleet forty years ago, brought a great foad of "infamy on those, who advised and directed it; " but they were more modest than to ask a publick " approbation of fo opprobrious a fact: It lay on " a few; and the nation was not drawn in to a " fhare in the guilt of that, which was then uni-" verfally detested, though it was passed over in " filence: It feems enough, if not too much, to be " filent on fuch an occasion. I can carry my

" compliances no further."

I now go on with the account of what was farther A demand done in this fession: The House of Commons was, of money as to all other things except the matter of com-civil lift merce, fo entirely in the hands of the Ministers, 'eb s. that they ventured on a new demand, of a very extraordinary nature, which was made in as extraordinary a manner. The civil lift, which was estimated at 600,000 l. a-year, and was given for the ordinary support of the government, did far exceed it: And this was so evident that, during the three first years of the Queen's reign, 100,000 l. was every year applied to the war; 200,000 l. was laid out in building of Blenheim house, and the entertaining the Palatines had cost the Queen 100,000 l. So that here was apparently a large overplus, beyond what was necessary towards the support of the government. Yet these extraordinary expences had put the ordinary payments into D d 2

fuch an arrear, that at Midsummer 1710, the 1713. Queen owed 510,000 l. But upon a new account, this was brought to be 80,000 l. less; and at that time, there was an arrear of 190,000 l. due to the civil lift; these two sums together amounting to 270,000 l. the debt that remained was but 240,000 l. Yet now, in the end of the fession, when, upon the rejecting the bill of commerce, most of the members were gone into the country, fo that there were not 180 of them left, a message was fent to the House of Commons, desiring a power to mortgage a branch of the civil lift, for thirty-two years, in order to raise upon it 500,000 l.

Reafons

This was thought a demand of very bad conagainst it. sequence, fince the granting it to one Prince would be a precedent to grant the like to all future Princes; and, as the account of the debt was deceitfully stated, so it was known, that the funds set off for the civil lift would increase confiderably in times of peace: So an opposition was made to it, with a great superiority in point of argument, but there was a great majority for it: And all people concluded, that the true end of getting fo much money into the hands of the Court, was to furnish their creatures fufficiently, for carrying their elections.

granted.

But it was The Lords were fenfible, that the method of procuring this supply was contrary to their privileges, fince all publick supplies were either asked from the throne, or by a message which was sent to both houses at the same time: This practice was enquired into by the Lords; no precedents came up to it; but some came so near it, that nothing could be made of the objection. But the Ministers, apprehending that an opposition would be made to the bill, if it came up alone, got it confolidated with another of 1,200,000 l. that was before them. And the weight of these two joined together, made them both pass in the House of Lords, without opposition. While

While this was in agitation, the Earl of Whar- 1713. ton fet forth, in the House of Lords, the danger the nation was in by the Pretender's being fettled Address of in Lorrain; fo he moved, that an address should houses to be made to the Queen, desiring her, to use her get the most pressing instances with the Duke of Lorrain Pretender to remove him, and with all Princes, that were in removed from Loramity or correspondence with her, not to receive rain, the Pretender, nor to fuffer him to continue in their dominions: This was opposed by none, but the Lord North; fo it was carried to the Queen. The day after the Lords had voted this, Stanhope made a motion to the same purpose in the House of Commons, and it was agreed to, Nemine Contradicente. The Queen, in her answer to the address of the Lords, said, she would repeat the instances, she had already used, to get that person removed, according to their defire in the address: This feemed to import, that she had already pressed the Duke of Lorrain on that subject, though the Ministers, in the House of Lords, acknowledged that they knew of no applications made to the Duke of Lorrain, and thought the words of the answer related only to the instances she had used, to get the Pretender to be fent out of France: But the natural fignification of the words, feeming to relate to the Duke of Lorrain, the Lords made a fecond address, in which they faid, they were furprized to find, that those instances had not their full effect, notwithstanding the Kings of France and Spain had shewed their compliance with her defire, on that occasion: All the answer brought to this was, that the Queen received it graciously. She answered the Commons more plainly, and promifed to use her endeavours to get him removed. It was generally believed, that the Duke of Lorrain did not consent to receive him, till he sent one over, to know the Queen's pleasure upon it, and that he was very readily informed of that.

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1713. of fome Bilhops.

In the end of May, Spratt, Bishop of Rochester, died; his parts were very bright in his youth, and The death gave great hopes; but these were blasted by a lazy libertine course of life, to which his temper and good nature carried him, without confidering the duties or even the decencies of his profession; He was justly esteemed a great master of our language, and one of our correctest writers. Atterbury fucceeded him in that fee, and in the Deanry of Westminster: Thus was he promoted, and rewarded for all the flame, that he had raifed in our church. Compton, Bishop of London, died in the beginning of July, in the eighty first year of his age: He was a generous and good-natured man, but easy and weak, and much in the power of others: He was fucceeded by Robinson, Bishop of Britol. On the eighteenth of July, the Queen came to the House of Lords, to pass the bills, and to put an end to the fession: She made a speech to her Parliament, in which, after she had thanked them for the fervice they had done the publick, and for the supplies that the Commons had given; she said, she hoped the affair of commerce would be fo well understood at their next meeting, that the advantageous conditions, she had obtained from France, would be made effectual, for the benefit of our trade: She enlarged on the praises of the present Parliament; she said, at their first meeting they had eafed the subjects of more than nine millions, without any further charge on them, not to mention the advantage, which the way of doing it, might bring to the nation, and now they had enabled her likewife to pay her debts: They had supported the war, and strengthened her hands, in obtaining a peace: She told them, at her first coming to the Crown, she found a war prepared for her? And that she had now made her many victories useful, by a safe and honourable peace. She promised herself, that with their concurrence, it would be lafting: She defired they would make her g

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her subjects sensible, what they gained by the 1713. peace, and endeavour to diffipate all the groundless jealousies, which had been too industriously fomented; that so our divisions might not endanger the advantages, the had obtained for her kingdoms: There were some (very few she hoped) that would never be fatisfied with any government; she hoped they would exert themselves, to obviate the malice of the ill-minded, and to undeceive the deluded: She recommended to them the adhering to the conflitution in Church and State; fuch persons had the best title to her favour; she had no other aim. but their advantage, and the fecuring our religion, and liberty; she hoped to meet a Parliament next winter, that should act upon the same principles, and with the same prudence and vigour, to support the liberties of Europe abroad, and to reduce the spirit of faction at home. Few speeches from the throne have in my time been more feverely reflected on, than this was: It feemed strange that the Queen, who did not pretend to understand matters of trade, should pass such a censure on both houses, for their not understanding the affair of commerce; fince at the bar of both houses, and in the debates within them upon it, the interest of the nation did appear so visibly to be contrary to the treaty of commerce, that it looked like a contempt put on them, to represent it as advantageous to us, and to rank all those, who had opposed it, among the ill-minded, or at least among the deluded. Nor did it escape censure, that she should affirm, that the nation was by them eased of the load of nine millions, without any further charge, fince the nation must bear the constant charge of interest at fix per Cent. till the capital should be paid off. The fharpness with which she expressed herself was fingular, and not very well fuited to her dignity or her fex: Nor was it well understood, what could be meant by her faying, that the found a war prepared for her, at her coming to the Crown; fince Dd4

The HISTORY of the Reign of Queen ANNE.

she herself began it, upon the addresses of both houses. It was also observed, that there was not, in all her speech, one word of the Pretender, or of the protestant succession; but that, which made the greatest impression on the whole nation was, that this speech discovered plainly, that the Court was resolved to have the bill of commerce pass in the next session: All people concluded, the Ministers were under engagements to the Court of France to get it settled: And this was taken to be the sense of the Queen's words concerning the making the peace lasting; what effect this may have on the next elections, which are quickly to follow, must be left to time.

I am now come to the end of the war, and of this Parliament, both at once: It was fit they should bear some proportion to one another; for, as this was the worst Parliament I ever saw, so no assembly, but one composed as this was, could have sate quiet under such a peace: But I am now arrived at my full period, and so shall close this work: I had a noble prospect before me, in a course of many years, of bringing it to a glorious conclusion; now the scene is so satally altered, that I can scarce restrain myself from giving vent to a just indignation, in severe complaints: But an historian must tell things truly as they are, and leave the descanting on them to others: So I here conclude this history of above three and sifty years.

I pray God it may be read with the same candof and sincerity, with which I have written it, and with such a degree of attention, as may help those who read it, to form just reflections, and sound principles of religion and virtue, of duty to our Princes, and of love to our country, with a sincere and incorruptible zeal to preserve our religion, and to maintain our liberty and property.

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CONCLUSION.



HAVE now fet out the state of affairs for above half a century, with all the care and attention that I was capable of: I have enquired into all matters among us, and have observed them,

during the course of my life, with a particular application and impartiality. But my intention in writing was not fo much, to tell a fine tale to the world, and to amuse them with a discovery of many fecrets and of intrigues of state, to blast the memory of some and to exalt others, to disgrace one party and to recommend another: My chief defign was better formed, and deeper laid: It was to give fuch a discovery of errors in government, and of the excesses and follies of parties, as may make the next age wifer, by what I may tell them of the last. And I may prefume, that the observations I have made, and the account that I have given, will gain me fo much credit, that I may fpeak with a plain freedom to all forts of persons: This not being to be published 'till after I am dead, when envy, jealoufy or hatred will be buried with me in my grave; I may hope, that what I am now to offer to fucceeding ages, may be better heard, and less censured, than any thing I could offer to the present: So that

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this is a fort of testament or dying speech, which I leave behind me, to be read and confidered when I can speak no more: I do most earnestly beg of God to direct me in it, and to give it fuch an effect on the minds of those who read it, that I may do more good, when dead, than I could ever hope to do while I was alive.

My zeal for the church of England.

My thoughts have run most, and dwelt longest on the concerns of the church and religion: Therefore I begin with them. I have always had a true zeal for the church of England; I have lived in it's communion with great joy, and have purfued it's true interests with an unfeigned affection: Yet I must say there are many things in it, that have been very uneafy to me.

trine.

The doc- The requiring subscriptions to the thirty-nine articles is a great imposition: I believe them all myfelf: But as those, about original fin and predestination, might be expressed more unexceptionably, fo I think it is a better way, to let fuch matters continue to be still the standard of doctrine, with fome few corrections, and to censure those who teach any contrary tenets: than to oblige all, that ferve in the church, to fubscribe them: The greater part subscribe without ever examining them; and others do it because they must do it, though they can hardly fatisfy their confciences about some things in them. Churches and focieties are much better fecured by laws, than by fubscriptions: It is a more reasonable, as well as a more easy method of government. mail has your how we

fhip.

The wor- Our worship is the perfecteft composition of devotion, that we find in any church, ancient or modern: Yet the corrections that were agreed to, by a deputation of Bishops and divines in the year 1689, would make the whole frame of our liturgy still more perfect, as well as more unexceptionable; and will, I hope, at some time or other, be better entertained, than they were then. I am perfuaded they are fuch, as would bring in the much greater part of the diffenters T

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differences to the communion of the church, and are in themselves desirable, though there were not a difference in the nation.

As for the ecclefiaftical jurisdiction, it has been And discithe burden of my life, to fee how it was admini-pline. ftred: Our courts are managed under the rules of the cannon law, dilatory and expensive: And as their constitution is bad, so the business in them is small; and therefore all possible contrivances are used, to make the most of those causes, that come before them: So that they are univerfally dreaded and hated. God grant that a time may come, in which that noble delign, to near being perfected in King Edward the Sixth's days, of the Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum, may be reviewed and established: That so matrimonial and testamentary causes, which are of a mixed nature, may be left, a little better regulated, to the lay hands of chancellors and other officers; but that the whole correction of the manners of the laity, and the inspection into the lives and labours of the clergy, may be brought again into the hand of spiritual men, and be put into a better method. It would be well if, after the poor clergy are relieved by the tenths and first fruits, a fund were formed (of twenty or thirty pound a-year) for the rural deans; and that they, with at least three of the clergy of the deanry, named by the Bishop, examined into the manners both of clergy and laity; and after the methods of private admonition had been tried, according to our Saviour's rule, but without effect, that the matter should be laid before the Bishop, who, after his admonitions were also ineffectual, might proceed to censures, to a suspension from the Sacrament, and to a full excommunication, as the cafe should require. This would bring our church indeed into a primitive form, in which at present the clergy have less authority, and are under more contempt, than in any church, that I have yet seen. For, though in the church of Rome the publick authority is in general managed,

managed, according to the method continued among us, yet it was in many particulars corrected by the Council of Trent; whereas we, by that unhappy proviso in the act, authorizing the thirty-two Commissioners to reform our Courts, are fatally tied down to all, that was in use in the twenty-fifth year of King Henry the Eighth. Besides, in that church the clergy have, by auricular confession, but too great an authority over the people; I am far from thinking that to be a lawful, or even a desirable thing: But since that is not to be thought of, we are in a wosul condition, in which the clergy are, as it were, shut out from any share of the main parts of the care of souls.

My zeal against separation.

The want of a true well-regulated discipline is a great defect, owned to be so in the preface to the office of commination: And, while we continue in this condition, we are certainly in an imperfect state. But this did never appear to me, to be a just ground of feparation; which I could never think lawful, unless the terms of communion among us were unlawful, and did oblige a man to fin: That feems to me, the only justifiable cause of separation, of leaving the established church, and of setting up a distinct or opposite communion. Nothing under this seems to be a just ground of rending the body of Christ, or of diffurbing the order of the world and the peace of mankind, thereby drawing on that train of ill consequences, that must and do follow upon such a disjointing the fociety of Christians; by which they become alienated from one another, and in the fequel grow to hate and to devour each other, and by which they are in danger of being confumed one of another.

And tenderness to fcrupulous consciences.

I do wish, and will pray for it as long as I live, that some regard may be had to those scruples, with which the dissenters are entangled: And, though I think they are not all well grounded, yet for peace sake I wish some things may be taken away, and that other things may be softened and explained:

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Many of these things were retained at the reformation, to draw the people more entirely into it; who are apt to judge, especially in times of ignorance. by outward appearances, more than by the real value of things: So the preserving an exterior, that looked fomewhat like what they had been formerly accustomed to, without doubt had a great effect at first on many persons, who, without that, could not have been easily brought over to adhere to that work: And this was a just and lawful confideration. But it is now at an end; none now are brought over from popery by this means; there is not therefore such a necessity for continuing them still, as there was for keeping them up at first. I confess, it is not advisable, without good reason, for it, to make great changes in things that are visible and fensible; yet, upon just grounds, some may be made without any danger. No inconvenience could follow, on leaving out the cross in baptism, or on laying afide furplices, and regulating cathedrals, efpecially as to that indecent way of finging prayers, and of laymen's reading the litany: All bowings to the Altar have at least an ill appearance, and are of no use; the excluding parents from being the sponfors in baptism, and requiring them to procure others, is extreme inconvenient, and makes that to be a mockery, rather than a folemn fponsion, in too many. Other things may be so explained, that no just exceptions could lie to them.

Thus I wish the terms of communion were made larger and easier; but since all is now bound on us by a law, that cannot be repealed but in Parliament, there must be a great change in the minds, both of Princes and people, before that can be brought about: Therefore the differences ought to consider well, what they can do for peace, without sinning against God. The toleration does not at all justify their separation; it only takes away the force of penal laws against them: Therefore, as lying in common discourse is still a sin, though no statute pu-

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nishes it; and ingratitude is a base thing, though there is no law against it; so separating from a national body and from the publick worship, is certainly an ill thing, unless some sin be committed there, in which we think ourselves involved, by joining with that body, and in that worship: So that the toleration is only a freedom from punishment, and does not alter the nature of the thing.

My zeal against perfecution.

I fay not this from any diflike of toleration; I think it is a right due to all men; their thoughts are not in their own power; they must think of things, as they appear to them; their consciences are God's: he only knows them, and he only can change them. And as the authority of parents over their children is antecedent to fociety, and no law, that takes it away, can be binding; fo men are bound, antecedently to all fociety, to follow what appears to them to be the will of God; and, if men would act honeftly, the rule of doing to all others what we would have others do to us, would foon determine this matter; fince every honest man must own, that he would think himself hardly dealt with, if he were ill used for his opinions, and for performing such parts of worship, as he thought himself indispensably obliged to. Indeed the church of Rome has some colour for her cruelty, fince she pretends to be intallible. But these practices are abfurdly unreasonable among those, who own that they may be mistaken, and fo may be perfecuting the innocent and the orthodox. Perfecution, if it were lawful at all, ought to be extreme, and go, as it does in the church of Rome, to extirpation; for the bad treatment of those, who are suffered still to live in a society, is the creating to many malecontents, who at fome time or other may make those, who treat them ill, feel their revenge: And the principle of perfecution, if true, is that, to which all have a right, when they have a power to put it in practice: Since they, being persuaded that they are in the right, from that must believe they may lawfully exert against

against others that severity, under which they groaned long themselves. This will be aggravated in them by the voice of revenge, which is too apt to be well heard by human nature, chiefly when it comes with the mask and appearance of zeal. I add not here any political confiderations, from the apparent interest of nations, which must dispose them to encourage the increase of their people, to advance industry, and to become a functuary to all, who are oppressed: But though this is visible and is confessed by all, yet I am now considering this matter only as it is righteous, just, and merciful, in the principle; for if it were not fo well supported in those respects, other motives would only be a temptation to Princes and States to be governed by interest, more than by their duty.

Having thus given my thoughts in general, with My relation to the constitution of our church and the thought communion with it, I shall proceed, in the next place, ing the to that which is special with relation to the Clergy. Clergy. I have faid a great deal on this head, in my book of the Pastoral Care, which of all the tracts I ever wrote, is that in which I rejoice the most: And, though it has brought much anger on me from those, who will not submit to the plan there laid down, yet it has done much good during my own life, and I hope it will do yet more good, after I am dead: This is a subject I have thought much upon, and fo I will here add fome things, to what

will be found in that book. No man ought to think of this profession, unless Aninward he feels within himself a love to religion, with a vocation. zeal for it, and an internal true piety; which is chiefly kept up by fecret prayer, and by reading of the scriptures: As long as these things are a man's burden, they are infallible indications, that he has no inward vocation, nor motion of the Holy Ghost to undertake it. The capital error in men's preparing themselves for that function is, that they study books more than themselves, and that they

read divinity more in other books, than in the fcriptures: Days of prayer, meditation, and fasting, at least once a quarter in the Ember week, in which they may read over and over again both offices of ordination, and get by heart those passages in the epistles to Timothy and Titus, that relate to this function, would form their minds to a right sense of it, and be an effectual mean to

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prepare them duly for it.

Alk yourselves often (for thus I address myself to you, as if I were still alive) would you follow that course of life, if there were no settled establishment belonging to it, and if you were to preach under the cross, and in danger of persecution? For 'till you arrive at that, you are yet carnal, and come into the priesthood for a piece of bread: Study to keep alive in you a flame of exalted devotion; be talking often to yourselves, and communing with your own hearts; digest all that you read carefully, that you may remember it so well, as not to be at a loss when any point of divinity is talked of: A little study well digested, in a good ferious mind, will go a great way, and will lay in materials for your whole life: Above all things, raise within yourselves a zeal for doing good, and for gaining fouls; indeed I have lamented, during my whole life, that I faw fo little true zeal among our clergy: I faw much of it in the clergy of the church of Rome, though it is both ill directed and ill conducted: I faw much zeal likewise throughout the foreign churches: The Differenters have a great deal among them; but I must own, that the main body of our clergy has always appeared dead and lifeless to me; and instead animating one another, they feem rather to lay one another afleep. Without a visible alteration in this, you will fall under an universal contempt, and lose both the credit and the fruits of your ministry.

The function of the Clergy. When you are in orders, be ever ready to pertion of the form all the parts of your function; be not anxious about about a fettlement; study to distinguish yourselves in your studies, labours, exemplary deportment, and a just sweetness of temper, managed with gravity and discretion; and as for what concerns yourselves, depend on the providence of God; for he will in due time raise up friends and benefactors to you. I do affirm this, upon the observation of my whole life, that I never knew any one, who conducted himself by these rules, but he was brought into good posts, or at least into an easy state of sub-sistence.

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Do not affect to run into new opinions, nor to heat yourselves in disputes, about matters of fmall importance: Begin with fettling in your minds the foundations of your faith; and be full of this, and ready at it, that you may know how to deal with unbelievers; for that is the spreading corruption of this age: There are few atheifts, but many infidels, who are indeed very little better than the atheifts. In this argument, you ought to take pains to have all well digested, and clearly laid in your thoughts, that you may manage the controverfy gently, without any asperity of words, but with a strength of reason: In disputing, do not offer to answer any argument, of which you never heard before, and know nothing concerning it; that will both expose you, and the cause you maintain; and, if you feel yourselves grow too warm at any time, break off and perfift no longer in the dispute; for you may by that grow to an indecent heat, by which you may wrong the caule, which you endeavour to defend. In the matter of mysteries be very cautious; for the simplicity, in which those sublime truths are delivered in the scriptures, ought to be well studied and adhered to: Only one part of the argument should be insisted on, I mean, the shortness and defectiveness of our faculties; which being well confidered, will afford a great variety of noble speculations, that are obvious VOL. IV.

and easily apprehended, to restrain the wanton sal-

lies of fome petulant men. Suff a more life and

Study to understand well the controversies of the church of Rome, chiefly those concerning infallibility and transubstantiation; for, in managing those, their missionaries have a particular address. Learn to view Popery in a true light, as a confpiracy to exalt the power of the Clergy, even by fubjecting the most facred truths of religion to contrivances for raising their authority, and by offering to the world another method of being faved, besides that prescribed in the Gospel. Popery is a mass of impostures, supported by men, who manage them with great advantages, and impose them with inexpressible severities, on those who dare call any thing in question, that they dictate to them. I fee a spirit rising among us, too like that of the church of Rome, of advancing the Clergy beyond their due authority, to an unjust pitch: This rather heightens jealousies and prejudices against us, than advances our real authority; and it will fortify the designs of profane infidels, who desire nothing more than to fee the publick Ministry of the Church first diffraced, and then abolished. The carrying any thing too far does commonly lead men into the other extreme: We are the dispensers of the Word and Sacraments; and the more faithful and diligent we are in this, the world will pay so much the more respect and submission to us: And our maintaining an argument for more power, than we now have, will be of no effect, unless the world lees, that we make a good use of the authority, that is already in our hands: It is with the Clergy as with Princes; the only way to keep their prerogative from being uneafy to their fubjects, and from being dilputed, is to manage it wholly for their good and advantage; then all will be for it, when they find it is for them: This will prevail more effectually, than all the arguments of lawyers, with all the precedents of former times. bas ThereTherefore let the Clergy live and labour well, and they will feel that as much authority will follow that, as they will know how to manage well. And to fpeak plainly; Dodwell's extravagant notions, which have been too much drunk in by the Clergy in my time, have weakened the power of the Church, and foured men's minds more against it, than all the books wrote, or attempts made against it, could ever have done: And indeed, the fecret poison of those principles has given too many of the Clergy a biass towards Popery, with an averfion to the reformation, which has brought them under much contempt. This is not to be recovered, but by their living and labouring, as they ought to do, without an eager maintaining of arguments for their authority, which will never fucceed, 'till they live better and labour more: When I fay live better, I mean, not only to live without scandal, which I have found the greatest part of them do, but to lead exemplary lives; to be eminent in humility, meekness, sobriety, contempt of the world, and unfeigned love of the brethren; abstracted from the vain conversation of the world, retired, and at home, fasting often, joining prayer and meditation with it; without which, failing may do well with relation to the body, but will fignify little with relation to the mind.

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If, to such a course of life, clergymen would add a little more labour, not only performing publick offices, and preaching to the edification of the people, but watching over them, instructing them, exhorting, reproving, and comforting them, as occasion is given, from house to house, making their calling the business of their whole life; they would soon find their own minds grow to be in a better temper, and their people would shew more esteem and regard for them, and a blessing from God would attend upon their labours. I say it with great regret, I have observed the clergy, in all the places through which I have travelled, Papists,

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Lutherans, Calvinists and Diffenters; but of them all, our Clergy is much the most remiss in their labours in private, and the least severe in their lives. Do not think I fay this to expose you, or to defame this Church; those censures have passed on me for my freedom during my life, God knows how unjustly, my defigns being all to awaken the Clergy, and by that means to preferve the Church; for which, he who knows all things, knows how much and how long I have been mourning in fecret, and fasting and praying before him. And let me fay this freely to you, now that I am out of the reach of envy and cenfure, unless a better spirit possesses the Clergy, arguments, (and which is more) laws and authority will not prove ftrong enough to preferve the Church; especially if the nation observes a progress in that biass, which makes many so favourable to Popery, and so severe towards the Diffenters; this will recommend them the more to pity and favour, and will draw a general odium upon you, that may end in your ruin, or in a perfecution; for which the Clergy of this age feem to be very little prepared: God grant those of the next may be more fo.

Oh my brethren, (for I speak to you as if I were among you,) think what manner of persons you ought to be, in all holy conversation and god-liness, that so you may shine as lights in the world? Think of the account you must give, for those immortal souls committed to your care, which were redeemed by the blood of Christ, who has sent you in his name, to persuade them to be reconciled to God, and at last to present them to him saultless with exceeding joy; he sees and observes your labours, and will recompence them gloriously

I leave all these things on your consciences, and pray earnestly that God may give his blessing to

this posthumous labour of mine, that our Church

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may be so built up by your labours, that it may continue to be long the joy of the whole earth, in the perfection of its beauty, and may be a pattern, as well as give protection, to all the churches of God.

I now turn to my brethren and successors in the My adepiscopal order: You are they in whose hands the vices to government of the Church is put; in fome respects shops. it is believed to be wholly in you, though I know, and have often felt it, that your power is fo limited, that you can do little; exemptions (a fcandalous remnant of Popery) take a great part of your diocels out of your hands. This I have often wondred at, that some who plead, that the government of the Church is fettled by divine authority in the Bishops, can yet, by the virtue of papal bulls, confirmed by an unhappy clause in an act of Parliament, exercise episcopal jurisdiction; which is plainly to act by virtue of the fecular power, in opposition to that, which, according to their principles, is fettled by a divine appointment. Archdeacons visitations were an invention of the latter ages, in which the Bishops, neglecting their duty, cast a great part of their care upon them: Now their vilitations are only for form and for fees; and they are a charge on the Clergy; fo, when this matter is well looked into, I hope Archdeacons, with many other burdens that lay heavy on the Clergy, shall be taken away. All the various inftruments, upon which heavy fees must be raised, were the infamous contrivances of the canonifts, and can never be maintained, when well examined. I say nothing to you of your lives, I hope you are and shall ever be shining lights; I wish the pomp of living, and the keeping high tables could be quite taken away; it is a great charge, and no very decent one; a great devourer of time; it lets in much promiseuous company, and much vain discourse upon you: Even civility may carry you too far, in a freedom and familiarity, that will make Ee 3

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you look too like the rest of the world; I hope this is a burden to you: It was indeed one of the greatest burdens of my life, to see so much time lost, to hear so much idle talk, and to be living in a luxurious waste of that, which might have been much better bestowed. I had not strength enough to break through that, which custom has imposed on those, provided with plentiful Bishopricks; I pray God to help you to find a decent way of laying this down.

The wives and children of Bishops ought to be exemplary in their apparel, and in their whole deportment; remembring that no part of the Bishops honours belongs to them: The wife of a Bishop ought to visit the widow and the fatherless, and by a grave authority, instruct and admonish as well as oblige and favour the wives of the rest of the Clergy.

The children of Bishops ought to be well instructed, and managed with all gravity; Bishops! ought not to press them beyond their inclinations? to take orders: For this looks as if they would thrust them, how unfit or unwilling foever, into fuch preferments as they can give or procure for them: On the contrary, though their children should defire to go into orders, they ought not to fuffer it, unless they fee in them a good mind and fineere intentions, with the other necessary qualineations; in which they cannot be deceived, unless they have a mind to deceive themselves: It is a betraying of their truft, and the worlt fort of fimony, to provide children with great dignities and benefices, only as an estate to be given them, without a due regard to their capacities or tempers. Ordinations are the only parts of the episcopal function, on which the law has laid no restraint; so this ought to be heavy on your thoughts.

Ordination weeks were always dreadful things to me, when I remembed those words, lay hands fuddenly on no man, be not partaker of other men's fins: Keep thyself pure. It is true, those

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who came to me were generally well prepared as to their studies, and they brought testimonials and titles, which is all that in our present constitution can be demanded: I never put over the examining them to my chaplains: I did that always myself, and examined them chiefly on the proofs of revealed religion, and the terms of falvation, and the new covenant through Christ; for those are the fundamentals: But my principal care was to awaken their consciences, to make them consider whether they had a motion of the holy Ghost, calling them to the function, and to make them apprehend, what belonged both to a spiritual life, and to the: paltoral care. On these subjects I spoke much and often to every one of them a-part, and fometimes to them all together, besides the publick examination of them with my chapter.

This was all that I could do: But alas! how An expedefective is this! and it is too well known how dient coneasy the clergy are, in figning testimonials: That cerning ordination which I here propose is, that every man, who ens. intends to be ordained, should be required to come and acquaint the Bishop with it a year before; that to he may then talk to his conscience, and give him good directions, both as to his studies and the course of his life and devotions; and that he may recommend him to the care and inspection of the best clergymen, that he knows in the neighbourhood where he lives; that so he may have from him, by some other conveyance than the person concerned, such an account of him as he may rely on. This is all that can be proposed, till our universities are put in a better method, or till seminaries can be raised, for maintaining a number of persons, to be duly prepared for holy orders one vitingo mant a

As to the labours of a Bishop, they ought to The due think themselves obliged to preach, as much as ties of a Bishop. their health and age can admit of; this the form of ordaining Bishops sets before them, together with

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the sense of the church in all ages; the complaint of the best men, in the worst ages, shews how much the floth and laziness of Bishops will be cried out on, and how acceptable the labours of preach. ing Bishops have always been: The people run to hear them, and hearken to their fermons, with more than ordinary attention: You will find great comfort in your labours this way, and will fee the fruits of them. The discreet conduct of your clergy is to be your chief care; keep not at too great a distance, and yet let them not grow too tamiliar: A Bishop's discourse should be well seafoned, turned chiefly to good fubjects, instruction in the matters of religion, and the pastoral care: And the more diverting ones ought to be matters of learning, criticism, or history. It is in the power of a Bishop to let no man despise him.

A grave but sweet deportment and a holy conversation will command a general respect; and as for some hot and froward spirits, the less they are meddled with, they will be the less able to do mis-. chief; they delight in oppolition, which they think will make them the more confiderable. I have had much experience this way, nothing mortifies them so much as neglect; the more abstracted Bishops live (from the world, from Courts, from cabals, and from parties) they will have the more quiet within themselves; their thoughts will be free and less intangled, and they will in conclusion be the more respected by all, especially if an integrity and a just freedom appear among them in the House of Lords, where they will be much observed; and judgments will be made of them there, that will follow them home to their diocesses.

Their abr firaction from Courts and intrigues.

Nothing will alienate the nation more from them, than their becoming tools to a Court, and giving up the liberties of their country, and advancing arbitrary defigns; nothing will work more effectually on the differences, than a course of moderation towards them; this will disarm their paffions,

fions, and when that is done, they may be better dealt with in point of reason; all care ought to be taken to stifle new controversies in their birth, to

check new opinions and vain curiofities.

Upon the whole matter, Bishops ought to consider, that the honour given them, and the revenues belonging to them, are such rewards for former services, and such encouragements to go on to more labour and diligence, as ought to be improved, as so many helps and advantages for carrying on the work of the Gospel, and their heavenly Father's business: They ought to meditate on these things, and be wholly in them; so that their profiting may appear to all. They ought to preach in season, and out of season, to exhort,

admonish, and rebuke, with all authority.

But if they abandon themselves to sloth and idleness; if they neglect their proper function, and follow a fecular, a vain, a covetous or a luxurious course of life; if they, not content with educating their children well, and with fuch a competency as may fet them afloat in the world, think of building up their own houses, and raising up great estates, they will put the world on many unacceptable enquiries: Wherefore is this waste made? why are these revenues continued to men, who make such an ill use of them? and why is an order kept up. that does the church so little good, and gives it so much scandal? The violences of Archbishop Laud, and his promoting arbitrary power ruined himself and the church both. A return of the like practices will bring with it the like dreadful confequences: The labours and the learning, the moderation and good lives of the Bishops of this age have changed the nation much, with relation to them, and have possessed them of a general esteem; some fiery ipirits only excepted, who hate and revile them for that, which is their true glory: I hope another age may carry this yet much further, that fo they

may be universally looked on, as the true and tender-hearted fathers of the church.

Concerning patrons.

The affinity of the matter leads me, before I enter on another scene, to say somewhat concerning the patronage of benefices, which have a care of fouls belonging to them: It is a noble dignity in a family; it was highly esteemed in the times of Popery, because the patron was to be named, in all the masses said in his church; There is a more real value in it in our constitution, fince the patron has the nomination of him, to whom the care of fouls is to be committed; which must take place, unless some just and legal exception can be made by the Bilhop. Even that is not easy to be maintained, in the Courts of law, where the Bishop will soon be run into so great an expense, that I am afraid many, rather than venture on that, receive unworthy men into the fervice of the church, who are in the fequel reproaches to it; and this is often the case of the richest and best-endowed be-

Some fell the next advowson, which I know is faid to be legal, though the incumbent lies at the point of death; others do not stick to buy and sell benefices, when open and vacant, though this is declared to be simony by law: Parents often buy them for their children, and reckon that is their portion; in that case, it is true, there is no perjury in taking the oath, for the person presented is no party to the bargain: Often ecclesiasticks themselves buy the next advowson, and lodge it with trustees for their own advantage.

Where nothing of all this traffick intervenes, patrons below benefices on their children or friends, without confidering either their abilities or merit; favour or kindred being the only thing that weighs with them. When all this is laid together, how great a part of the benefices of England are disposed of, if not simoniacally, yet at least unworthily, without regard to so facred a trust,

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as the care of fouls? certainly patrons, who, with out due care and enquiry, pur souls into bad hands, have much to answer for.

I will not fay, that a patron is bound always to beflow his church on the best man he can find; that may put him on anxieties, out of which it will not be eafy to extricate himself; nor will it be always possible to ballance the different Excellences of men, who may have various talents, that lye feveral ways, and all of them may be ufeful, some more, some less: But in this I am politive, that no patron answers the obligation of that truft, unless he is well perfuaded, that the clerk he presents is a truly good man, has a competent measure of knowledge, zeal and discretion, fo fuited to the people, for whom he names him, that he has reason to believe, he will be a faithful pastor and a prudent guide to them.

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Patrons ought to take this on their conscience, to manage it with great caution, and in the fear of God, and not to enter into that filthy merchandize of the fouls of men, which is too common; it is like to be a moth on their estates, and may bring a curfe on their families, as well as on their persons.

I do not enter into the fcandalous practices of non- Non-refirelidence and pluralities, which are sheltred by so dence and many colours of law among us; whereas the church Phralitiess of Rome, from whence we had those and many other abuses, has freed herself from this, under which we still labour, to our great and just reproach: This is so sharmeful a profanation of holy things, that it ought to be treated with detelfation and horrour: Do fuch men think on the vows, they made on their ordination; on the rules in the icriptures, or on the nature of their function, or that it is a care of fouls? how long, how long shall this be the peculiar diffrace of our church, which, for aught I know, is the only church in the world that tolerates it? I must add, that I do not reckon the holding poor livings that lie contiguous,

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guous, a plurality, where both are looked after, and both afford only a competent maintenance.

Concerning the body of the people.

I have now gone through the most important things, that occur to my thoughts with relation to the clergy: I turn next to fuch observations, reflections, and advices, as relate to the laity. I begin with the body of the people: The commonalty of this nation are much the happiest, and live the easiest and the most plentifully of any, that ever I faw: They are very lagacious and skilful in managing all their concerns; but at the same time it is not to be conceived how ignorant they are, in the matters of religion: The diffenters have a much larger share of knowledge among them, than is among those who come to our churches. the more to be wondered at, confidering the plainness, in which matters of religion are wrote in this age, and the many small books concerning these, that have been published of late years, which go at eafy rates, and of which many thousands are every year fent about, by charitable focieties in London, to be freely given to fuch as will but take them, and read them: So that this ignorance feems to be obstinate and incurable.

Upon this subject, all that I can propose, lies in two advices to the clergy: The one is, that they catechize the youth much at church, not only asking the questions and hearing the answers, but joining to that the explaining the terms in other words, and by turning to the bible for fuch paffages, as prove or enlarge on them: The doing this constantly, would infuse into the next age, a higher meafure of knowledge, than the present is like to be bleffed with. Long fermons, in which points of divinity or morality are regularly handled, are above the capacity of the people; short and plain ones, upon a large portion of scripture, would be better hearkened to, and have a much better effect; they would make the hearers understand and love the scriptures more. Preachers ought to dwell often,

guous,

in their fermons, on those fins that their hearers must needs know themselves guilty of, if they are fo; fuch as fwearing, lying, cheating, drunkenness, leud deportment, breach of promise, love of the world, anger, envy, malice, pride and luxury: Short discourses upon these, and often repeated, in many glances and reflections on them, fetting forth the real evil of them, with the ill consequences that follow, not only to others, but to the persons themfelves, are the best means can be thought of, for reforming them; and these will have an effect on fome, if not on many. But above all, and in order to all the rest, they ought to be called on, upon all occasions, to reflect on their ways, to consider how they live, to pray in fecret to God, confessing their fins to him, begging pardon and mercy for what is paft, and his holy Spirit to affift, strengthen, and direct them for the time to come, forming fincere refolutions to amend their ways, with relation to every particular fin, that they find they may have fallen into. If the clergy will faithfully do their duty in this method, and join to it earnest prayers for their people, they may hope through the bleffing of God to fucceed better in their labours. The people ought to be often put in mind of the true end of the rest on the Lord's day, which is chiefly to give them time and opportunity, for meditations and reflections on themselves, on what they have said or done, and on what has befallen them the former week; and to confider what may be before them, in the week they are entring on. Ministers ought to visit their people, not only when they are fick unto death, but when they are in an ill state of health, or when they are under affliction: These are the times, in which their spirits are tender, and they will best bear with a due freedom, which ought to be managed, in the discreetest and most affectionate manner: And a clergyman ought not to be a respecter of persons, and neglect the meanest of his cure:

cure: They have as immortal fouls as the greatest, and for which Christ has paid the fame ransom.

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Of the Gentry.

From the commonalty I turn to the gentry: They are for the most part the worst instructed, and the leaft knowing of any of their rank, I ever went amongst. The Scotch, though less able to bear the expence of a learned education, are much more knowing: The reason of which is this; the Scotch, even of indifferent fortunes, fend private tutors with their children, both to schools and colleges; these look after the young gentlemen, mornings and evenings, and read over with them what they have learned, and fo make them perfecter in it: They generally go abroad a year or two, and fee the world; this obliges them to behave themselves well. Whereas a gentleman here is often both ill taught and ill bred: This makes him haughty and infolent. The gentry are not early acquainted with the principles of religion: So that, after they have forgot their catechism, they acquire no more new knowledge, but what they learn in plays and ro-mances. They grow foon to find it a modifi thing, that looks like wit and fpirit, to laugh at religion and virtue; and to become crude and unpolished infidels. If they have taken a wrong tincture at the university, that too often disposes them to hate and despile all those, who separate from the Church, though they can give no better reason than the Papists have for hating hereticks, because they forsake the Church: In those seats of education, instead of being formed to love their country and constitution, the laws and liberties of ir, they are rather disposed to love arbitrary government, and to become flaves to absolute mo-A change of interest, provocation, or some other consideration may set them right again as to the publick; but they have no inward principle of love to their country, and of publick liberty: So that they are easily brought to like like flavery, if they may be the tools for manag-

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This is a difmal representation of things; I have The danfeen the nation thrice on the brink of ruin, by ger of men thus tainted. After the restoration, all were public running fast into slavery; had King Charles the liberty. Second been attentive to those bad designs (which he purfued afterwards with more caution) upon his first return, slavery and absolute power might then have been fettled into a law, with a revenue able to maintain it: He plaid away that game without thought, and he had then honest Ministers, who would not serve him in it; after all that he did, during the course of his reign, it was scarce credible that the fame temper should have returned in his time; yet he recovered it in the last four years of his reign; and the gentry of England were as active and zealous, to throw up all their liberties, as their ancestors ever had been to preserve them. This continued above half a year in his brother's reign; and he depended to much upon it, that he thought it could never go out of his hands: But he, or rather his priefts had the skill and dexterity to play this game likewife away, and lofe it a fecond time; to that, at the revolution, all feemed But men, who to come again into their wits. have no principles, cannot be fleady; now the greater part of the capital gentry feem to return again to a love of tyranny, provided they may be the under-tyrants themselves; and they seem to be even uneafy with a Court, when it will not be as much a Court as they would have it. This is a folly of lo fingular a nature, that really it wants a name; it is natural for poor men, who have little to lose, and much to hope for, to become the instruments of slavery; but it is an extravagance, peculiar to our age, to see rich men grow as ir were in love with flavery and arbitrary power. The root of all this is, that our gentry are not betimes possessed with a true measure of folid knowledge

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ledge and found religion, with a love to their country, a hatred of tyranny, and a zeal for li-berty. Plutarch's lives, with the Greek and Roman history, ought to be early put in their hands; they ought to be well acquainted with all history, more particularly that of our own nation; which they should not read in abridgments, but in the fullest and most copious collectors of it, that they may fee to the bottom, what is our conftitution, and what are our laws, what are the methods bad Princes have taken to enflave us, and by what conduct we have been preserved: Gentlemen ought to observe these things, and to entertain one another often upon these subjects, to raise in themselves, and to spread around them to all others, a noble ardor for law and liberty. They ought to understand Popery well, to view it in its politicks, as well as in its religious corruptions, that they may observe and guard against their secretest practices; particularly that main one, that prevails so fatally among us, of making us despise the foreign churches, and hate the Diffenters at home. The whole body of Protestants, if united, might be an equal match to the church of Rome: It is much fuperior to them in wealth and in force, if it were animated with the zeal, which the monastick orders, but chiefly the Jesuits, spread through their whole communion: Whereas the reformed are cold and unconcerned, as well as disjointed in matters that relate to religion. The chief maxim by which men, who have a true zeal for their religion and their country, ought to govern themselves, is, to live within the extent of their estates, to be above luxury and vanity, and all expences that wafte their fortunes: Luxury must drive them to court favour, to depend on Ministers, and to afpire after places and penfions; and as the feeking after these does often compleat the ruin of broken families, to in many they prove only a reprieve, and not a recovery; whereas he, who is contented

with his fortune, and measures his way of living by it, has another root within him; out of which every noble and generous thought will naturally fpring. Publick liberty has no fure foundation but in virtue, in parsimony and moderation : Where these fail, liberty may be preserved by accidents and circumstances of affairs, but it has no bottom to rest securely on. A knowing and virtuous gentleman, who understands his religion and loves it, who practiles the true rules of virtue, without affectation and moroseness, who knows enough of law, to keep his neighbours in order, and to give them good advice; who keeps meetings for his county, and reftrains vice and diforder at them; who lives hospitably, frugally and charitably; who respects and encourages good clergymen, and worships God, both in his family and at church; who educates his children well, who treats his fervants gently, and deals equitably with his tenants and all others, with whom he has any concerns; such a man shines, and is a publick bleffing to all that fee him, or come near him. Some fuch instances are yet left among us; but alas! there are not many of them. Can there be any thing more barbarous, or rather treacherous, than for gentlemen to think it is one of the honours of their houses, that none must go out of them fober; it is but a little more infamous to poison them; and yet this passes as a character of a noble house-keeper, who entertains his friends kindly. Idleness and ignorance are the ruin of the greatest part, who, if they are not fit for better things, should descend to any thing, rather than fuffer themselves to fink into sloth; that will carry them to the excesses of hunting, gaming, and drinking, which may ruin both foul, body and estate. If a man, by an ill-managed or a neglected education, is so turned, that every fort of study or reading is a burden; then he ought -VOL. IV. Ff

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ought to try if he has a genius to any mechanism, that may be an entertainment to him: The managing a garden is a noble, and may be made a useful amusement; the taking some part of his estate into his own hands, if he looks carefully to it, will both employ his time well, and may turn to a good account; in a word, some employments may be better than others; but there is no employment so bad, as the having none at all; the mind will contract a rust, and an unsitness for every good thing; and a man must either fill up his time with good or at least innocent business, or it will run to the worst sort of waste, to fin and vice.

Errors in education

I have often thought it a great error, to waste young gentlemen's years fo long, in learning Latin, by so tedious a grammar; I know those, who are bred to the professions in literature, must have the Latin correctly; and for that, the rules of grammar are necessary: But these are not at all requifite to those, who need only so much Latin, as thoroughly to understand and delight in the Roman authors and poets. But suppose a youth had, either for want of memory or of application, an incurable aversion to Latin, his education is not for that to be despaired of; there is much noble knowledge to be had in the English and French languages; geography, history, chiefly that of our own country, the knowledge of nature, and the more practical parts of the mathematicks (if he has not a genius for the demonstrative) may make a gentleman very knowing, though he has not a word of Latin; there is a fineness of thought, and a nobleness of expression indeed in the Latin authors, that will make them the entertainment of a man's whole life, if he once understands and reads them with delight: But if this cannot be attained to, I would not have it reckoned, that the education of an ill Latin scholar is to be given over.

over. A competent measure of the knowledge of the law is a good foundation, for diffinguishing a gentleman; but I am in doubt, whether his being for some time in the inns of court will contribute much to this, if he is not a studious perfon: Those who think they are there, only to pals away so many of their years, commonly run together, and live both idly and viciously. I should imagine it a much better way, though it is not much practifed, to get a learned young lawyer, who has not got into much bufiness, to come and pass away a long vacation or two with a gentleman, to carry him through fuch an introduction to the study of the law, as may give him a full view of it, and good directions how to profecute his study in it. A competent skill in this makes a man very useful in his country, both in conducting his own affairs, and in giving good advice to those about him: It will enable him to be a good justice of peace, and to settle matters by arbitration, fo as to prevent law-fuits; and, which ought to be the top of an English gentleman's ambition, to be an able parliament man: to which no gentleman ought to pretend, unless he has a true zeal for his country, with an inflexible integrity and refolution to purfue what appears to him just and right, and for the good of the publick: The Parliament is the fountain of law, and the fence of liberty; and no fort of instruction is fo necessary for a gentleman, as that which may qualify him to appear there with figure and reputation.

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Gentlemen in their marriages ought to confi- And in der a great many things more than fortune, though, marriages generally speaking, that is the only thing fought tor: A good understanding, good principles, and a good temper, with a liberal education, and acceptable person, are the first things to be conindered: And certainly fortune ought to come Ff2

after all these. Those bargains now in fashion make often unhallowed marriages, in which (besides the greater evils) more fortune is often wasted, than is brought, with a vain, a soolish, an indiscreet and a hated wise. The first thought in choosing a wise ought to be, to find a help meet for the man: In a married state the mutual study of both ought to be to help and please one another: This is the foundation of all domestick happiness; as to stay at home and to love home, is the greatest help to industry, order and the good government of a family. I have dwelt the longer on this article, because on the forming the gentry well, the good government of the nation, both in and out of parliament does so much depend.

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Of trade and industry.

As for the men of trade and business, they are, generally speaking, the best body in the nation, generous, fober, and charitable: So that, while the people in the country are so immersed in their affairs, that the fense of religion cannot reach them, there is a better spirit stirring in our cities; more knowledge, more zeal, and more charity, with a great deal more of devotion. There may be too much of vanity, with too pompous an exterior, mixed with these in the capital city; but upon the whole, they are the best we have: Want of exercise is a great prejudice to their health, and a corrupter of their minds, by raifing vapours and melancholy, that fills many with dark thoughts, rendring religion, which affords the truest joy, a burden to them, and making them even a burden to themselves; this furnishes prejudices against religion to those, who are but too much disposed to seek for them. The too con-stant intercourse of visits in town is a vast conlumption of time, and gives much occasion to talk, which is at best idle, if not worse: This cercertainly wants regulation, and is the effect of

idleness and vanity.

The stage is the great corrupter of the town; Of the and the bad people of the town have been the stage. chief corrupters of the stage, who run most after those plays that defile the stage and the audience: Poets will feek to pleafe, as actors will look for fuch pieces, as draw the most spectators: They pretend their delign is to discourage vice; but they do really recommend it, in the most effec-tual manner. It is a shame to our nation and religion, to fee the stage so reformed in France, and so polluted still in England. Moliere for comedy, and Racine for tragedy, are great patterns; few can, and as few will ftudy to copy after them. But, till another scene appears, certainly our plays are the greatest debauchers of the nation. Gaming is a waste of time, that rises out of idleness, and is kept up by covetousness; those who can think, read, or write to any purpose, and those who understand what conversation and friendship are, will not want such a help to wear out the day; so that upon the whole matter, sloth and ignorance, bad education and ill company, are the chief fources of all our vice and diforders.

The ill methods of schools and colleges give Of eduthe chief rife to the irregularities of the gentry; cating the as the breeding young women to vanity, dreffing, and a false appearance of wit and behaviour, without proper work or a due measure of knowledge and a ferious fense of religion, is the source of the corruption of that fex: Something like monasteries without vows would be a glorious defign, and might be fo fet on foot, as to be the honour of a Queen on the throne: But I will pur-

lue this no further.

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My next address is to the nobility; most of Of the what I have proposed to our gentry does in a nobility, Ff3

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more eminent manner belong to them; the higher their condition is raifed above other gentlemen, fo much the more eminent ought they to be inknowledge and virtue; the share they have in judicature in the House of Lords, should oblige them to acquaint themselves with the rules and principles of law; though an unbiaffed integrity, neither moved by friendship nor party, with a true understanding, will for the most part direct them in their judgment, fince few cases occur, where the point of law is dark or doubtful.

Of their

Every person of a high rank, whose estate can education, bear it, ought to have two persons to manage his education; the one a governor to form his mind, to give him true notions, to reprefent religion and virtue in a proper light to him, to give him a view of geography, not barely deferibing the maps, but adding to it the natural history of every country, its productions, arts, and trade, with the religion and government of the country, and a general idea of the history of the world, and of the various revolutions, that have happened in it. Such a view will open a young person's mind: It must be often gone over, to fix it well. The ancient government in Greece, but much more that of Kome, must be minutely delivered, that the difference, between a just and a vicious government, may be well apprehended. The fall of the Roman greatness, under the Emperors, by reason of the absolute power, that let vice in upon them, which corrupted not only their courts, but their armies, ought to be fully opened: Then the Gothick government, and the feudal law should be clearly explained, to open the original of our own constitution. In all this, the chief care of a wife and good former of youth ought to be, to possess a young mind with noble principles of justice, liberty berty and virtue, as the true basis of government; and with an aversion to violence and arbitrary power, servile flattery, Faction and luxury, from which the corruption and ruin of all governments have arisen.

To this governor (qualified for all this, to be fought out and hired at any rate) I would join a mafter for languages and other things, in which this young Lord is to be instructed; who ought to be put under the direction and eye of the governor, that his time may not be lost in trifles; that nothing of pedantry or of affectation may be infused into a young mind, which is to be prepared for great things. A simplicity of style, with a true and grave pronunciation, ought to be well looked to; and this young nobleman ought to be accustomed, as he grows up, to speak his thoughts, on the fudden, with a due force and weight both of words and voice. I have often wondered to fee parents, who are to leave vast estates, and who stick at no expence in other things, yet be so trugal and narrow in the education of their children. They owe to their country a greater care in preparing the eldest, to make that figure in it, to which he is born: And they owe to their younger children, who are not to be so plentifully provided, fuch a liberal education, as may fit them to answer the dignity of their birth, and prepare them for employments, by which they may in time give a further Atrength and addition to their family. I have been amazed to fee, how profule some are, in procuring good dancing, fencing, and riding-mafters for their children, and letting them out in fine clothes; and how sparing they are in that, which is the chief and most important thing, and which in time may become the most useful, both to themselves and to their country. I look on the education of the youth, as the foundation of all that can be propoled,

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posed, for bettering the next age: It ought to be one of the chief cares of all governments. though there is nothing more univerfally neglected. How do some of our Peers shine, meerly by their virtue and knowledge; and what a contemptible figure do others make, with all their high titles and great effaces ? say you do Leave done too an or

Of their

Noblemen begin to neglect the having chapchaplains, lains in their houses, and I do not much wonder at it, when I reflect on the behaviour of too many of these; light and idle, vain and insolent, impertinent and pedantick; by this want however, the worthip of God, and the instruction of fervants is quite neglected: But, if a little more care were taken to choose well, a Lord might make a good use of a chaplain, not only for those ends, which I have mentioned, but for the reading fuch books, as the Lord defires to be well informed about, but has not leifure to peruse himself. These he may read by his chaplain, and receive an account of them from him, and fee what are the principal things to be learnt from them, for which he may find leifure, though not for the whole book: By this means he may keep his chaplain well imployed, and may encrease his own stock of knowledge, and be well furnished with relation to all new books and new questions, that are started. The family of a nobleman, well chosen and well ordered, might look like a little court in his country: For though it is a happiness to the nation, that the great number of idle and useless retainers, that were about noblemen anciently, is much reduced; yet still they must entertain many fervants, to be either nulances where they live, or to fet a pattern to others. The greater men are, they ought to be the more modest and affable, and more easy of access, that so they may, by the best fort of popularity, render themselves acceptable to their , below country; country; they ought more particularly, to protect the oppressed, to mortify insolence and injustice, and to enter into the true grievances of their country; that they may represent these, where it may be proper; and shew at least a tender care of those, who ought to be protected by them, if they cannot effectually procure a redress of their grievances. A continued pursuit of such methods, with an exemplary deportment, would foon restore the nobility to their ancient luftre, from which they feem very fensible how much they are fallen, though they do not take the proper methods to recover it. Have we not feen in our time four or five Lords, by their knowledge, good judgment and integrity, raise the House of Peers to a pitch of reputation and credit, that feemed once beyond the expectation or belief of those, who now fee it? A progress in this method will give them such authority in the nation, that they will be able, not only to support their own dignity, but even to support the throne and the church. If so small a number has raised peerage to fuch a regard, that the people, contrary to all former precedents, have confidered them more than their own representatives; what might not be expected from a greater number pursuing the fame methods? These would become again that, which their title imports, the Peers of the Crown as well as of the kingdom, of which that noble right of putting on their coronets, at the coronation, is a clear proof. Great titles, separated from the great estates and the interest their ancestors had in their countries, must fink, if not supported with somewhat of more value, great merit and a fublime virtue. Landanterio

After I have offered what I think of the great- Concernest importance to the feveral ranks of men in the ingthe two nation, I go next to confider that august body, Parliament in which they are all united; I mean the Parlia-

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ment. As long as elections are fet to fale, fo long we are under a disease in our vitals, that if it be not remedied in time, must ruin us at last, and end in a change of government; and what that may be, God only knows.

Of Elections.

All laws that can be made, will prove ineffectual to cure fo great an evil, till there comes to be a change and reformation of morals in the nation; we see former laws are evaded, and so will all the laws that can be made, till the candidates and electors both become men of another temper and other principles, than appear now among them: The expence of elections ruins families; and these families will come in time to expect a full reparation from the Crown; or they will take their revenges on it, if that hope fails them: The commons will grow infolent upon it, and look on the gentry as in their dependence; during the war, and while the heat of parties ferments so much, it is not easy to find a proper remedy for this. When the war is over, one expedient in the power of the Crown, is to declare that elections to Parliament shall be annual: But if the same heat and rivalry of parties should still continue, that would ruin families but fo much the fooner.

The most promising expedient, next to a general reformation, which may feem too remote and too hopeless a prospect, is to try how this great division of the nation into whig and tory may be leffened, if not quite removed: Great numbers on both sides are drawn, to take up many groundless jealousies one of another, with which men of honest minds are possessed.

Of the parties of whig and tory.

There are many of the tories, that without doubt look towards St. Germains and France; but this is not true of the bulk of their party. Many infidels, who hate all religion and all churches alike (being only against the Church of England because it is in polfession) do join with the whigs and the dissenters, and

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appear for them; from thence the ill-disposed tories possess many of those, who are better minded, with an opinion, that the whigs favour the diffenters, only to ruin and deitroy religion: And great multitudes of unthinking and ignorant men are drawn into this snare. The principles of the whigs lead them to be for the revolution, and for every thing that has been done to support and establish that; and therefore those who, in their hearts, hate the revolution, fortify and promote their defigns, by keeping up a jealoufy of all that body, which alone can and must support it. The whigs are indeed favoured by the diffenters, because they see their principles are for toleration, in which, it is visible, that the diffenters acquiefce, without purfuing any delign, contrary to the established church, into which the far greater number of them might be brought, if but a very few concessions were made them. On the other hand, the whigs, feeing the leaders of the tories drive on ill defigns fo vifibly, (endeavouring to weaken the government, to difjoint the alliance, and to put an untimely end to the war, thereby ferving the interests of France and of the Pretender) and that they are followed in this by the body of the tories, who promote their elections, and adhere to them in all divisions in the two Houses of Parliament, and are united in one party with them, from thence conclude, that they are all equally concerned, and alike guilty: And thus they are jealous of them all. This aversion is daily growing, and will certainly continue as long as the war lasts; when that is ended, it may possibly abate: but so great a disease will not be cured, 'till a Prince of spirit and authority, managed with temper and discretion, undertakes the cure. We see oaths and subscriptions make no discrimination, lince the abjuration, though penned as fully as words can go, has been taken by some, who seem resolved to swallow down every thing in order to

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In the Parliament of 1701, called the impeaching Parliament, and in the first Parliament called by the Queen, there was a majority of tories; yet it appeared, the men of ill defigns durst not venture to discover themselves to their party and to the nation; fo they proceeded with caution. They defigned in 1701 to have had the Duke of Anjou acknowledged, in order to have difgraced the late King, and his faithfullest Ministers; that so the Princes abroad, who could do nothing without affiftance from England, despairing of that, might be forced to submit to the offers France made them. In the first year of the Queen's reign, they durst make no visible steps that way neither; but they tried to raise the heat against the dissenters, to make a breach on the toleration, and to give that body of men fuch a jealoufy of the government, as should quite dishearten them, who were always the readiest to lend money to the publick, without which the war could not be carried on vigoroully. By this it may appear, that many of the tories have not those views and designs, that perhaps some of their leaders may be justly charged with. Now a wife and an active Prince may find methods, to undeceive those who are thus fatally imposed on, and led blindfold into the serving the ill defigns of others; especially, if he will propole it, as a fure way to his favour, for all whom he employs, to procure a better understanding and frequent meetings, among the men of good lives and fost tempers in both parties, who by a mutual conversation will so open themselves to one another, that jealousies may by this means be eastly removed. I can carry this no further at prefent; men of good intentions will eafily find out proper methods to bring about this worthy defign

of healing a breach, that has rent the nation from top to bottom. The parties are now so stated and kept up, not only by the elections of Parliament-men that return every third year, but even by the yearly elections of Mayors and corporationmen, that they know their strength; and in every corner of the nation, the two parties stand, as it were, listed against one another. This may come, in some critical time or other, at the death of a Prince, or on an invasion, to have terrible effects, as at present it creates, among the best of each side, a coldness and a jealousy, and a great deal of hatred and virulence among the much greater part.

There are two things of a very publick nature, The corthat deserve the care of a Parliament: The one rection of must begin in the House of Lords, and the other our laws. in the House of Commons. The law of England is the greatest grievance of the nation, very expensive and dilatory: There is no end of suits, efpecially when they are brought into Chancery. It is a matter of deep study, to be exact in the law; great advantages are taken, upon inconsiderable errors; and there are loud complaints of that, which feems to be the chief fecurity of property, I mean juries, which are faid to be much practifed upon. If a happy peace gives us quiet, to look to our own affairs, there cannot be a worthier delign undertaken, than to reduce the law into method, to digest it into a body, and to regulate the Chancery, fo as to cut off the tediousness of fuits, and, in a word, to compile one entire fyftem of our laws. The work cannot be undertaken, much less finished, but by so great an authority, as at least an address from the House of Lords to the Queen. Nothing, after the war is happily ended, can raise the glory of her reign more, than to fee fo noble a defign fet on foot in her time: This would make her name facred to posterity, which would sensibly feel all the taxes,

taxes, they have raised, fully repaid them, if the law were made shorter, clearer, more certain, and

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of less expence.

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Provisions for the poor.

The other matter, that must take it's rise in the House of Commons, is about the poor, and should be much laid to heart. It may be thought a strange motion from a Bishop, to wish that the act, for charging every parish to maintain their own poor, were well reviewed, if not quite taken away; this feems to encourage idle and lazy people in their floth, when they know they must be maintained: I know no other place in the world, where fuch a law was ever made. Scotland is much the poorest part of the island; yet the poor there are maintained by the voluntary charities of the people; Holland is the perfectest pattern, for putting charity in a good method; the poor work as much as they can; they are humble and industrious; they never ask any charity; and yet they are well relieved. When the poor see, that their supply must in a great measure depend on their behaviour and on their industry, as far as it can go, it will both make them better in themselves, and move others to fupply them more liberally; and when mens offerings are free (and yet are called for, every time they go to church or to Sacrament) this will oblige those, who distribute them, to be exact and impartial in it; fince their ill conduct might make the givers trust them with their charity no more, but distribute it themselves. If a spirit of true piety and charity should ever prevail in this nation, those, whose condition raises them above the drudgery of fervile labour, might employ fome years of their life in this labour of love, and relieve one another in their turn, and so distribute among them this noble part of Government. All this must begin in the House of Commons; and I leave it to the confideration of the wife and worthy members of that body, to turn their thoughts to this, as foon as by a happy peace we are delivered from the cares of the war, and are at leisure to think of our own affairs at

One thing more I prefume to fuggest, which is, Of shorter that we may have fewer and shorter sessions of Par- sessions of liament; the staying long in town both wastes Parliament. estates, and corrupts the morals of members; their beginning so late in the day to enter upon business is one great occasion of long sessions; they are feldom met, 'till about twelve a-clock; and except on a day, in which some great points are to be discussed, upon which the parties divide, they grow disposed to rise after two or three hours sitting. The authority of the Prince must be interposed to make them return to the old hours of eight and nine; and if, from that time, they fate till two, a great deal of business might be dispatched in a short session. It is also to be hoped that, when the war is ended, Parhaments will not give the necessary supplies from year to year, as in the time of war, but will fettle methods for paying the publick debt, and for the support of the government, for two, if not for three years. The ill effects of an annual meeting of Parliament are so visible and so great, that I hope nothing but invincible necessity will ever keep us under the continuance of fo great an inconvenience. I speak of this with the more concern, because this is not only a great charge on Bishops, heavy on the richer, and intollerable to the poorer Bishopricks; but chiefly, because it calls them away from their dioceffes, and from minding their proper work, and fills their heads too much with fecular thoughts, and obliges them to mix too much with fecular company; from which the more abstracted they are, as their minds will be purer and freer, to they will be able to follow their own business with less distraction, in a more constant attendance on

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200 03 Prince the Ministry of the word and prayer, to which, in imitation of the Apostles, they ought to give them-

felves continually.

I have now gone over what feemed to me most practicable, as well as most important, for all ranks of men feverally in the nation, as well as for that great union of them all, in the representative of the whole in Parliament: I have not gone into wild notions of an imaginary reformation. more to be wished than hoped for; but have only touched on fuch ill practices, and bad difpofitions, as with a little care and good government may be in some measure redressed and corrected. And now, having by all these, as by so many steps, rifen up to the throne, I will end this address to the nation, with an humble representation to those, who are to fit on it.

Princes.

An address I have had the honour to be admitted to much free conversation, with five of our fovereigns; King Charles the Second, King James the Second, King William the Third, Queen Mary, and Queen Anne. King Charles's Behaviour was a thing never enough to be commended; he was a perfectly well-bred man, easy of access, free in his discourse, and sweet in his whole deportment; this was managed with great art, and it covered bad deligns; it was of fuch use to him, that it may teach all fucceeding Princes, of what advantage an eafiness of access and an obliging behaviour may be: This preferved him; it often difarmed those resentments, which his ill conduct in every both publick and private, possessed all thinking people with very early, and all forts of people at last: And yet none could go to him, but they were in a great measure softned, before they left him: It looked like a charm, that could hardly be refifted: Yet there was no good-nature under that, nor was there any truth in him. King James had great application to business, though though without a right understanding; that application gave him a reputation, till he took care to throw it off: If he had not come after King Charles, he would have past for a Prince of a fweet temper, and easy of access. King William was the reverse of all this; he was scarce accessible, and was always cold and filent; he minded affairs abroad fo much, and was fo fet on the war, that he scarce thought of his government at home: This raised a general disgust, which was improved by men of ill defigns, fo that it perplexed all his affairs, and he could scarce support himself at home, whilft he was the admiration of all abroad. Queen Mary was affable, cheerful and lively, spoke much, and yet under great referves, minded business, and came to understand it well; she kept close to rules, chiefly to those set her by the King; and the charmed all that came near her. Anne is easy of access, and hears every thing very gently; but opens herfelf to fo few, and is fo cold and general in her answers, that people foon find that the chief application is to be made to her Ministers and favourites, who in their turns have an enitre credit and full power with her: She has laid down the splendor of a court too much, and eats privately; so that except on Sundays, and a few hours, twice or thrice a week at night in the drawing room, she appears so little, that her Court is as it were abandoned. Out of all these Princes conduct, and from their fucceffes in their affairs, it is evident what ought to be the measures of a wife and good Prince, who would govern the nation happily and glorioufly.

The first, the most essential, and most indispensable rule for a King is, to study the interest of the nation, to be ever in it, and to be always pursuing it; this will lay in for him such a degree of considence, that he will be ever safe with his people, when they seel they are safe in him.

Vol. IV.

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No part of our story shews this more visibly, than Queen Elizabeth's reign, in which the true interest of the nation was constantly pursued; and this was so well understood by all, that every thing else was forgiven her and her ministers both. Sir Simon Dewe's journal shews a treatment of Parliaments, that could not have been born at any other time, for under any other administration: This was the constant support of King William's reign, and continues to support the present reign, as it will support all who adhere steadily to it.

A Prince, that would command the affections and purses of this nation, must not study to stretch his prerogative, or be uneasy under the restraints of law; as foon as this humour shews itself, he must expect, that a jealoufy of him, and an uneafy opposition to him, will follow through the whole course of his reign; whereas if he governs well, Parliaments will trust him, as much as a wife Prince would defire to be trufted; and will fupply him in every war that is necessary, either for their own preservation, or the preservation of those allies, with whom mutual interests and leagues unite him: But though, foon after the Restoration, a slavish Parliament supported King Charles in the Dutch war, yet the nation must be strangely changed, before any thing of that fort can happen again.

One of the most detestable and the foolishest maxims, with relation to our government, is to keep up parties and a rivalry among them; to shift and change Ministers, and to go from one party to another, as they can be brought in their turns to offer the Prince more money, or to give him more authority: this will in conclusion render him odious and contemptible to all parties, who growing accustomed to his fickleness, will never trust him, but rather study

to fecure themselves, by depressing him; of which the reign of Henry the Third of France is a signal instance. We saw what effects this had on King Charles's reign; and King William selt what an ill step he had made, near the end of his reign, in pursuing this maxim. Nothing creates to a Prince such a considence, as a constant and clear sirmness and steadiness of government, with an unblemished integrity in all his professions; and nothing will create a more universal dependence on him, than when it is visible, he studies to allay the heats of parties, and to reconcile them to one another: This will demonstrate, that he loves his people, and that he has

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A Prince, who would be well ferved, ought to feek out among his subjects the best and most capable of the youth, and fee to their good education at home and abroad; he should send them to travel, and order his Ministers abroad to keep fuch for fome time about them, and to fend them from court to court, to learn their language, and observe their tempers: If but twelve such were confrantly kept, on an allowance of 250 l. a-year, the whole expence of this would rife but to 3000 l. a-year: By this inconsiderable charge, a Prince might have a constant nursery for a wife and able Ministry. But those ought to be well chosen, none ought to pretend to the nomination; it ought to rife from the motion, of the honestest and most disinterested of all his Ministers, to the Prince in fecret. As great a care ought to be had, in the nomination of the chaplains of his Minifters abroad, that there may be a breed of worthy clergymen, who have large thoughts and great notions, from a more enlarged view of mankind and of the world. If a Prince would have all that ferve him grateful and true to him, he must study to find out, who are the properest Gg2

and worthiest men, capable of employments, and prevent their applications, and furprize them with bestowing good posts unfought, and raising them higher, as they ferve well: When it is known, that a Prince has made it his maxim, to follow this method in diffributing his favours, he will cut off applications for them; which will otherwife create a great uneafiness to him, and have this certain ill effect, that, where there are many pretenders, one must have the preference to all the rest; so that many are mortified for being rejected, and are full of envy at him, who has obtained the favour, and therefore will detract from him as much as possible. This has no where worse effects than among the clergy, in the disposal of the dignities of the Church: And therefore Queen Mary resolved to break those aspirings; which resolution she carried on effectually for some years: A constant pursuing that maxim would have a great effect on the nation.

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Frequent progresses round the nation, so divided, that once in leven, eight, or ten years, the chief places of it might be gone through, would recommend a Prince wonderfully to the people; especially if he were gentle and affable, and would fo manage his progress, that it should not be a charge to any, by refuling to accept of entertainments, from any person whatsoever: For the accepting these only from such, as could easily bear the charge of it, would be an affronting of others, who being of equal rank, though not of equal estates, would likewise desire to treat the Prince. So to make a progress every where acceptable, and no where chargeable, the fure method would be, according to the established rule of the houshold, for the Prince to carry the travelling wardrobe with him, and to take fuch houses in the way, as are most convenient for him; but to entertain himself and his Court there, and have a variety of tables for such as may come to attend on him. On this Queen Mary had set her heart, if she had lived to see peace in her days; by this means a Prince may see and be seen by his people; he may know some men, that deserve to be distinguished, of whom otherwise he would never have heard; and he may learn and redress the grievances of his people, preventing all parliamentary complaints, except for such matters as cannot be cured, but by a remedy in Parliament: Methods like these would make a Prince become the idol of his peo-

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It is certain, that their affections must follow a Prince, who would confider government and the royal dignity as his calling, and would be daily employed in it, studying the good and happiness of his people, pursuing the properest ways for promoting it, without either delivering himself up to the floth of luxury and vain magnificence, or affecting the barbarity of war and conquest; which render those, who make the world a scene of blood and rapine, indeed the butchers of mankind. If these words seem not decent enough, I will make no other apology, but that I use them, because I cannot find worse: For as they are the worst of men, fo they deserve the worst of language. Can it be thought that Princes are raised to the highest pitch of glory and wealth, on defign to corrupt their minds with pride and contempt of the rest of mankind, as if they were made only to be the instruments of their extravagancies, or the subjects of their passions and humours? No! they are exalted for the good of their fellow-creatures, in order to raise them to the truest sublimity, to become as like divinity, as a mortal creature is capable of being. None will grudge them their great treasures and authority, when they see it is all employed to make their people happy. None will envy their greatness, when they see it accompanied Gg3

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panied with a fuitable greatness of foul; whereas a magnified and flattered pageant will soon fall under universal contempt and hatred. There is not any one thing more certain and more evident, than that Princes are made for the people, and not the people for them; and perhaps there is no nation under heaven, that is more entirely possessed with this notion of Princes, than the English nation is in this age; so that they will soon be uneasy to a Prince, who does not govern himself by this max-

im, and in time grow very unkind to him.

Great care ought to be taken, in the nomination of Judges and Bishops. I join these together; for law and religion, justice and piety, are the support of nations, and give strength and security to governments: Judges must be recommended by those in the high posts of the law; but a Prince may, by his own tafte and upon know-ledge, choose his Bishops. They ought to be men eminent for piety, learning, discretion and zeal; not broken with age, which will quickly render them incapable of ferving the Church, to any good purpose: A person fit to be a Bishop at fixty, was fit at forty; and had then spirit and activity, with a strength both of body and mind. The vast expence they are at, in entering on their Bishopricks, ought to be regulated: No Bishopricks can be, in any good degree, served under 1000 l. a year at least. The Judges ought to be plentifully provided for, that they may be under no temptation, to supply themselves by indirect ways: One part of a Prince's care, to be recommended to Judges in their circuits, is to know what persons are, as it were, hid in the nation, that are fit for employments, and deferve to be encouraged; of fuch, they ought to give an account to the Lord Chancellor, who ought to lay it before the Throne. No crime ought to be pardoned, till the Judge who gave fentence is

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heard, to give an account of the evidence, with the circumstances of the fact, as it appeared on the trial: No regard ought to be had to stories that are told, to move compassion; for in these, little regard is had to truth: And an easiness in pardoning is, in some fort, an encouraging of crimes, and a giving licence to commit them.

But to run out no longer into particulars, the great and comprehensive rule of all is, that a King should consider himself, as exalted by Almighty God into that high dignity, as into a capacity of doing much good, and of being a great bleffing to mankind, and in some fort a God on earth; and therefore, as he expects, that his Ministers should study to advance his service, his interests and his glory; and that, so much the more, as he raises them to higher posts of favour and honour; so he, whom God has raised to the greatest exaltation, this world is capable of, should apply himself wholly to cares, becoming his rank and station, to be in himself a pattern of virtue and true religion, to promote justice, to relieve and revenge the oppressed, and to feek out men of virtue and piety, and bring them into fuch degrees of confidence, as they may be capable of; to encourage a due and a generous freedom in their advices, to be ready to fee his own errors, that he may correct them, and to entertain every thing, that is suggested to him, for the good of his people, and for the benefit of mankind; and to make a difference between those, who court his favour for their own ends, who study to flatter and by that to please him, often to his own ruin, and those who have great views and noble aims, who fet him on to purfue defigns worthy of him, without mean or partial regards to any ends or interests of their own. It is not enough for a Prince, G g 4

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not to encourage vice or impiety, by his own ill practices; it ought to appear, that these are odious to him, and that they give him horror: A declaration of this kind, folemnly made and fleadily purfued, would foon bring on at least an exterior reformation, which would have a great effect on the body of the nation, and on the rifing generation, though it were but hypocritically put on at first. Such a Prince would be perhaps too great a bleffing to a wicked world: Queen Mary feemed to have the feeds of all this in her; but the world was not worthy of her: And fo God took her from it.

An exhortation to all, to become gious.

I will conclude this whole address to posterity with that, which is the most important of all other things, and which alone will carry every truly reli- thing else along with it; which is to recommend, in the most folemn and ferious manner, the study and practice of religion to all forts of men, as that which is both the light of the world, and the falt of the earth. Nothing does fo open our faculties, and compose and direct the whole man, as an inward fense of God, of his authority over us, of the laws he has fet us, of his eye ever upon us, of his hearing our prayers, affifting our endeavours, watching over our concerns, and of his being to judge and to reward or punish us in another state, according to what we do in this: Nothing will give a man fuch a detestation of fin, and fuch a fense of the goodness of God, and of our obligations to holiness, as a right understanding and a firm belief of the christian religion: Nothing can give a man fo calm a peace within, and fuch a firm fecurity against all fears and dangers without, as the belief of a kind and wife providence, and of a future state. An integrity of heart gives a man a courage, and a confidence that cannot be shaken: A man is fure that, by living according to the rules

rules of religion, he becomes the wifest, the best and happiest creature, that he is capable of being: Honest industry, the employing his time well, and a constant sobriety, an undefiled purity and chastity, with a quiet serenity, are the best preservers of life and health: So that, take a man as a single individual, religion is his guard, his persection, his beauty, and his glory: This will make him the light of the world, shining brightly, and enlightening many round about him.

Then take a man as a piece of mankind, as a citizen of the world, or of any particular state, religion is indeed then the falt of the earth: For it makes every man to be to all the rest of the world, whatfoever any one can with reason wish or defire him to be. He is true, just, honest and faithful in the whole commerce of life, doing to all others, that which he would have others do to him: He is a lover of mankind, and of his country: He may and ought to love fome more than others; but he has an extent of love to all, of pity and compassion, not only to the poorest, but to the worst; for the worse any are, they are the more to be pitied. He has a complacency and delight in all that are truly, though but defectively good, and a respect and veneration for all that are eminently fo: He mourns for the fins, and rejoices in the virtues of all that are round about him: In every relation of life, religion makes him answer all his obligations: It will make Princes just and good, faithful to their promises, and lovers of their people: It will inspire subjects with respect, submission, obedience and zeal for their Prince: It will fanctify wedlock to be a state of christian friendship, and mutual affiftance: It will give parents the trueft love to their children, with a proper care of their education: It will command the returns of gratitude

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titude and obedience from children: It will teach masters to be gentle and careful of their fervants, and fervants to be faithful, zealous, and diligent in their mafter's concerns: It will make friends tender and true to one another; it will make them generous, faithful and difinterested: It will make men live in their neighbourhood, as members of one common body, promoting first the general good of the whole, and then the good of every particular, as far as a man's fphere can go: It will make judges and magistrates just and patient, hating covetousness, and maintaining peace and order, without respect of perfons: It will make people live in fo inoffensive a manner, that it will be easy to maintain justice, whilst men are not disposed to give disturbance to those about them. This will make Bishops and Pastors faithful to their trust, tender to their people, and watchful over them; and it will beget in the people an esteem for their persons, and their functions. The bas was off

Thus religion, if truly received and fincerely adhered to, would prove the greatest of all bleffings to a nation: But by religion, I understand fomewhat more than the receiving fome doctrines, though ever so true, or the professing them, and engaging to support them, not without zeal and eagerness. What fignify the best doctrines, if men do not live fuitably to them; if they have not a due influence upon their thoughts, their principles, and their lives? Men of bad lives, with found opinions, are felf condemned, and lie under a highly aggravated guilt; nor will the heat of a party, arising out of interest, and managed with tury and violence, compensate for the ill lives of such false pretenders to zeal; while they are a disgrace to that, which they profess and seem so hot for. By religion I do not mean, an outward compliance with form and customs, in going to church, to obuni

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to ers, prayers, to fermons and to facraments, with an external shew of devotion, or, which is more, with some inward forced good thoughts, in which many may fatisfy themselves, while this has no visible effect on their lives, nor any inward force to fubdue and rectify their appetites, passions and fecret defigns. Those customary performances, how good and useful soever, when well understood and rightly directed, are of little value, when men rest on them, and think that, because they do them, they have therefore acquitted themselves of their duty, though they continue still proud, covetous, full of deceit, envy and malice: Even secret prayer, the most effectual of all other means, is defigned for a higher end, which is to possess our minds with fuch a conftant and prefent fense of divine truths, as may make these live in us, and govern us; and may draw down fuch affiftances, as may exalt and fanctify our natures.

So that by religion I mean, such a sense of divine truth, as enters into a man, and becomes a spring of a new nature within him; reforming his thoughts and deligns, purifying his heart, and fanctifying him, and governing his whole deportment, his words as well as his actions; convincing him that it is not enough, not to be scandalously vicious, or to be innocent in his conversation, but that he must be entirely, uniformly and constantly pure and virtuous, animating him with a zeal, to be still better and better, more eminently good and exemplary, using prayers and all outward devotions, as folemn acts teltifying what he is inwardly and at heart, and as methods instituted by God, to be still advancing in the use of them further and further into a more refined and spiritual sense of divine matters. This is true religion, which is the perfection of human nature, and the joy and delight of every one, that feels it active and strong within him; it is

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true, this is not arrived at all at once; and it will have an unhappy allay, hanging long even about a good man: But, as those ill mixtures are the perpetual grief of his foul, fo it is his chief care to watch over and to mortify them; he will be in a continual progress, still gaining ground upon himself: And, as he attains to a good degree of purity, he will find a noble flame of life and joy growing upon him. Of this I write with the more concern and emotion, because I have felt this the true and indeed the only joy, which runs through a man's heart and life: It is that which has been for many years my greatest support; I rejoice daily in it; I feel from it the earnest of that supreme joy, which I pant and long for; I am fure there is nothing elfe can afford any true or compleat happiness. I have, confidering my fphere, feen a great deal of all, that is most shining and tempting in this world: The pleasures of fense I did soon nauseate; intrigues of state, and the conduct of affairs have formething in them, that is more specious; and I was, for some years, deeply immersed in these, but still with hopes of reforming the world, and of making mankind wifer and better: But I have found, that which is crooked cannot be made ftraight. I acquainted my felf with knowledge and learning, and that in a great variety, and with more compass than depth: But though wisdom excelleth folly, as much as light does darkness; yet, as it is a fore travail, so it is so very defective, that what is wanting to compleat it, cannot be numbred. have feen that two were better than one, and that a threefold cord is not eafily loofed; and have therefore cultivated friendship with much zeal and a difinterested tenderness; but I have found this was also vanity and vexation of spirit, though it be of the best and noblest fort. So that, upon great and long experience, I could enlarge on vill

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on on he the preacher's text, vanity of vanities, and all is vanity; but I must also conclude with him; fear God, and keep his commandments, for this is the all of man, the whole both of his duty, and of his happiness. I do therefore end all, in the words of David, of the truth of which, upon great experience and a long observation, I am fo fully affured, that I leave these as my last words to posterity: " Come ye children, hearken unto " me; I will teach you the fear of the Lord; " what man is he that defireth life, and loveth " many days, that he may fee good? keep thy " tongue from evil, and thy lips from speaking "guile; depart from evil, and do good, feek " peace and pursue it. The eyes of the Lord " are upon the righteous, and his ears are open "to their cry; but the face of the Lord is " against them that do evil, to cut off the re-" membrance of them, from the earth. " righteous cry, and the Lord heareth and de-" livereth them out of all their troubles. "Lord is nigh unto them, that are of a broken "heart, and faveth fuch as be of a contrite " fpirit."

N. B. This was written in June 1708, when the author thought himself near the end of the history.

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achet's text, vanity of vanities, and all is but I must sale conclude with him a foar and keep this commandations, show this is the man, the whole both of his duty, and happinets. I do therefore end all; in the on Pavid, of the truth of which, uptor of one I note with good a fine amoneous My affired, that I leave thefe as any left would to relieuty; "Come ye children, hearken, puter will reach you the fear of the Lords were man is he that defined hife, and lovesh many days, that he may fee igned? keep thy or the front exilt and thy light front firstling refue; depart from evil and do good, feel Lite Jewb to some off it pulling his some copper the rightcous, and his cars are open is their cry; but the lace on the day of against sain that donewill to the off the leconbrance, of them, from the earth. The chooses cry, and the Loud beauth and de-Yould theke love of all their prophles. The and is high unto them, that are the hopken to and fatech foch as be of a contribe married by some, and

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Of the right reverend and learned

Dr. GILBERT BURNET,

Late Lord Bishop of SALISBURY, &C.

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Of the right revered and learned

GILBERT BURNET

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A chronological and particular Account of the Works of the right reverend and learned Dr. GILBERT BURNET, late Lord Bishop of Salifbury, connected and disposed under proper heads, interspersed with some critical and historical observations. By R. F.

N.B. Those which have this mark * prefixed, are not included in the collection annexed to the history of his life.

I. SERMONS.

UBJECTION for conscience sake afferted; at Covent-Garden, 6 Decem. S 1674, on Rom. xiii. 5. 1675. 4to.

*2. The royal Martyr lamented; at the Savoy, 30 Jan. 1674.

These two sermons were reprinted, 1710. 8vo.

3. Before the Lord Mayor and Aldermen, at St. Mary le Bow, 2 Sept. 1680, the fast-day for the fire of Lon-DON. Amos iv. 11, 12. 1680. 4to.

4. Before the house of Commons, at St. Margaret's, Westminster, 22 December, 1680, the sast-day.

Rev. iii. 2, 3. 1681. 4to.

5. Before the court of Aldermen, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 30 Jan. 1687. Zech. viii. 19. 1681. 4to.

6. An exhortation to peace and union; before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 29 Sept. 1681, the day of electing the Lord Mayor.

Matth. xii. 25. 1681. 4to.

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7. At the funeral of Mr. JAMES HOUBLON, at St. Mary Woolnoth. 28 June, 1682. Pfalm xxxvii. 37. 1682. 4to.

8. (a) At the chapel of the Rolls, 5 Nov. 1684. Pfalm xxii. 21. 4to.

9. Before the Prince of ORANGE, at St. James's, 23 Dec. 1688. Pfalm exviii. 23.

10. Before the house of COMMONS, 31 Jan. 1688, the day of thanksgiving for the deliverance of this kingdom from popery and arbitrary power, by his highness the Prince of ORANGE's means.

Pfalm cxliv. 15. 1689. 4to. 9

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II. At the coronation of King WILLIAM and Queen MARY, at Westminster-Abbey, 11 April, 1689. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3, 4. 1689. 4to.

12. Before the house of PEERS, at Westminster-Abbey, 5 Nov. 1689. Micah vi. 5. 1689. 4te.

13. An exhortation to peace and unity, at St. Law rence-Jewry, 26 Nov. 1689.

1689. 4to. Acts vii. 16.

14. Before the KING and QUEEN, at White-Hall, on Christmas-day, 1689. 1 Tim. iii. 16. 1689. 4to.

15. Before the court of Aldermen, at St. Mary le Bow, on the fast-day, 12 March, 1682. Luke xix. 41, 42.

(a) The author hath acquainted his readers in the preface, that, on account of this fermon, he had been unjustly censured as a person disaffected to his Majesty's government; and it soon appeared, that the Court was very highly offended at him; for by an order from the Right Honourable FRANCIS NORTH, Lord GUILFORD, Lord keeper of the great seal, directed to Sir HARBOTTLE GRIMSTON, Knt. master of the Rolls, in the next month, he was forbid preaching any more at the Rolls chapel. Soon after he left the kingdom, from just apprehensions of danger from his enemies, that he might enjoy a place of fafe retreat in foreign countries, where he continued till the happy revolution 1688. See the Life of the author, p. 33. General Dictionary, Vol. iii. p. 706. Biographia Britannica, Vol. ii. p. 1038.

16. Before

1690. 4to.

day, 16 July, 1690.

Pfalm lxxxv. 8. 1690. 4to.

- 17. Before the KING and QUEEN, at White, Hall, on the day of thankfgiving, 19 Oct. 1690.

 Pfalm cxliv. 10, 11. 1690. 4to.
- 18. At the funeral of the Right Honourable ANNE Lady dowager BROOK, at Breamor, 19 Feb. 1697.

 Prov. xxxi. 30, 31. 1691. 4to.
- 19. Before the King and Queen, at White-Hall, on the fast-day, 29 April, 1691. Pfalm xii. 1. 1691. 4to.
- 20. Before the King and Queen, at White-Hall, on the day of thanksgiving, 26 Nov. 1691. Prov. xx. 28. 1691. 4to.
- 21. At the funeral of the Honourable ROBERT BOYLE, Eq; at St. Martin's in the fields, 7 Jan. 169\frac{1}{2}.

 Ecclef. ii. 26.

 1692. 4to.
- 22. Before the QUEEN, at White-Hall, the third Sunday in Lent, 11 March, 169³.

 1 Cor. i. 26. 1694. 4to.
 - 23. Before the QUEEN, at White-Hall, 29 May, 1694. Pfalm cv. 5. 1694. 4to.
- 24. At the funeral of the most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson, late Archbishop of Canterbury, at St. Lawrence-Jewry, 30 Nov. 1694.

 2 Tim. iv. 7.
- 25. Before the King, at St. James's, the first Sunday in Lent, 10 Feb. 1694.

 2 Cor. vi. 1.

 1695. 4to.
- 26. Before the King, at White-Hall, on Christmasday, 1696. Gal. iv. 4. 1696. 4to.
- 27. Before the Kino, at White-Hall, the third Sunday in Lent, 7 March, 1697.

 Ephef. v. 1.

 1697. 4to.

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28. Before the King, at White-Hall, 2 December, 1697, the day of thanksgiving for the Peace.
2 Chron. ix. 8. 1697. 4to.

29. Of charity to the houshold of faith; before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter-Monday, 25 April, 1698.

Gal. vi. 10.

1698. 4to.

30. Charitable reproof; before the societies for reformation of manners, at St. Mary le Bow, 25 March, 1700. Prov. xxvii. 5, 6.

31. At St. James's church, upon reading the brief for the perfecuted exiles of the principality of Orange, Jan. 1703.

1 Cor. xii. 26, 27.

1704. 4to.

32. (b) Before the fociety for the propagation of the gospel in foreign parts, at St. Mary le Bow, 18 Feb. 1703.

Malachi i. 11. 1704. 4to.

* 33. At Salisbury, at the triennial visitation, Oct. Phil. ii. 1, 2. 1704. 4to.

* 34. At St. James's, 10 March, 1705, the fifth Sunday in Lent. Pfalm xlix. 20. 1706. 4to.

*35. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Sepulchre's, on Easter-Monday, 25 March, 1706.

Matth. xxiv. 12.

* 36. On the day of thanksgiving, 27 June, 1706.

Deut. iv. 6, 7, 8.

8vo.

* 37. Before the QUEEN, and the two houses of Parliament, at St. Paul's, 31 Dec. 1706, the day of thanksgiving for the wonderful successes of that year.

Psalm lxxii. 4. 1706. 8vo.

* 38. At Salisbury, 20 May, 1710.

Matth. xxii. 21. 1710. 8vo.

(b) The fermons from Numb. 3, to Numb. 32 inclusive, are in the collection of tracts and discourses, written and published in the years 1677—1704, in three volumes, quarto, collected in 1704.

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39 At Salisbury, 5 Nov. 1710, and 7 Nov. 1710, the day of thanks- 1710. 8vo. * 40. (giving. Pfalm exliv. 15.

* 41. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter-Monday, 2 April, 1711. Pfalm cxxii. 6, 7, 8, 9. 1711. 4to.

- *42. Before the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, &c. at St. Bride's, on Easter-Monday, 29 March, 1714. 8vo. Daniel iv. 27. 1714.
 - *43. At Salisbury, at the triennial visitation, 1714. Acts xx. 28. 4to.
 - * 44. Before the King at St. James's, 31 Oct. 1714. Pfalm ii. 10, 11.
- 45. Before the KING and QUEEN, at Hampton-Court, on the first fast-day, 5 June, 1689 (c). 2 Chron. xv. 2.
- 46. (d) Prepared by QUEEN MARY's order for the day of thankfgiving, 27 Oct. 1692, for the victory at sea, near la Hogue. Exod. iv. 13.
- 47. Before QUEEN ANNE upon her accession to the throne, at St. James's, 15 March, 1701, the fourth Sunday in Lent. Ifaiah xlix. 23.
- 48. (e) Against Popery, at St. Clements, near the end of KING CHARLES IId's reign. Ephef. i. 3.

(c) In the year 1713, the Bishop published, in Svo, a volume, intitled " fome fermons preached on feveral occasions, and an essay towards a new book of Homilies, in seven serinons, prepared at the desire of archbishop Tillorson, and some other bishops." See Numb. 45-58. The preface to these sermons containeth a laboured and most judicious desence of the revolution; in which the lawfulness and necessity of that important transaction are fully justified against the reproaches and misrepresentations of the nonjurts, and others, who are difaffected to the present happy conflitution.

(d) The reasons why this sermon was not preached at the time for

which it was prepared, the reader may find distinctly represented in the life

of archibishop Tillorson, by the reverend Dr. Birch, p. 305.
(e) Soon after this sermon was preached, the resentment of the court against our author was so great, that he was discharged from his lecture at St Clement's by virtue of the King's mandate to the reverend Dr. GRE-GURY HASCARD, restor of that parish. See the Life of the author, p. 33. Biographia Britannica, Vol ii. p 1038.

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- Before the Lord WILLIAM RUSSEL, in New-& gate, 20 July, 1683, the day before he suffered. 50. Rev. xiv. 13. Psalm xxiii. 4.
- 51. Upon death, in the cathedral church at Salisbury, on occasion of the death of the reverend Mr. EDWARD YOUNG, dean of Salisbury, who died 7 Aug. 1705.

 Ecclef. xii. 7.
 - 52. Upon the love of Gop.

 Matth. xxii. 35, 36, 37, 38.
 - 53. Upon the love of our neighbour. Matth. xxii. 39, 40.
 - 54. Against perjury. Levit. xix. 12.
- 55. Of the nature of oaths, and against profane swearing. James v. 12.
 - 56. Upon keeping holy the Sabbath-day. Exod. xx. 8, 9, 10, 11.
 - 57. Against adultery and uncleanness. Hebr. xiii. 4.
 - 58. Against drunkenness: Ephes. v. 18.

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II. Discourses and Tracts in DIVINITY.

- * 1. On the importance of substantial piety and vital religion; a preface to a book intitled "The life of God in the soul of man; or the nature and excellency of the christian religion; by HENRY SCOUGAL, M. A. sometime professor of divinity in the university of ABERDEEN.

 1688. 8vo.
- 2. Instructions for the archdeacons of the diocese of Salisbury, to be delivered by them to the clergy in their Easter visitations; together with a letter from their diocesan, dated 22 April, 1690.
- * 3. A fhort directory, containing proper rules how to prepare young persons for confirmation. 1690. 4to.
 4. (f) A

4. (f) A discourse concerning the pastoral care, 1692.

- 5. Four discourses delivered to the clergy of the diocese of Salisbury, concerning, I. The truth of the christian religion. II. The divinity and death of Christ. III. The infallibility and authority of the church. IV. The obligations to continue in the communion of the church; with a large presatory epistle to the clergy of the said diocese (g).
- *6. (b) A letter to the reverend Dr. JOHN WILLIAMS, in defence of the "discourse concerning the divinity and death of Christ." 1695. 4to.
- *7. (i) Animadversions upon a late book, written by Mr. HILL, falsely called "a vindication of the primitive fathers against the imputations of GILBERT Lord Bishop of Sarum.

 1695. 4to.
- 8. (k) Reflections upon a pamphlet intitled "fome discourses upon Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, occasioned by the late funeral sermon of the former upon the latter.

 1696. 8vo.
- (f) A third edition of this ferious and excellent discourse was printed in Nov. 1712, in 8vo.; to which were added a new preface, representing the true state of the church and clergy of England at that juncture, when the nation was inflamed and divided by the artful intrigues and clamours of the highchurch incendiaries; and a tenth chapter concerning presentations to benefices, and simony.

(g) This prefatory address, dated 8 Dec. 1693, exhibiteth a diftinct account of the design of each discourse, and abundantly consuteth the objecti-

ons which had been alleged against the revolution.

(b) This letter is dated 2 Feb. 1694-5, and defigned as a reply to the objections of an unitarian writer contained in "fome confiderations on the explications of the doctrine of the trinity," published 1694, in 4to, and is annexed to Dr. WILLIAMS'S vindication of archbishop TILLOTSON and bishop STILLINGFLEET, against the remarks of the said writer.

(i) "The vindication of the primitive fathers," &c. written by the

(i) "The vindication of the primitive fathers," &c. written by the reverend Mr. Samuel Hill, archdeacon of Wells and rector of Kilmington in the county of Somerfet, was principally defigned against some explications of the fathers relating to the doctrine of the trinity, which the bishop had remarked upon in his second "discourse on the divinity and death of Christ."

(k) These discourses are said to be written by Dr. George Hickes, a virulent adversary to the archbishop and our bishop, whose "ressections," as Dr. Birch observeth, contain a strong and clear answer to them.

Life of archbishop TILLOTSON, p. 345.

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A chronological Account of

9. (1) An exposition of the thirty nine articles of the church of ENGLAND. 1699. folio.

The fifth edition of this work was published 1746, in a large 8vo.

- to. Remarks on the examination of the fecond article of our church. 1702. 4to.
 - *11. A charge given at the triennial visitation of the diocese of Salisbury, in Oct. 1704, prefixed to a sermon preached at the same visitation. See SERMONS, Numb. 33.
 - 12. An exposition of the church catechism, for the use of the diocese of Salisbury. 1710. 8vo.
 - * 13. A charge given at the triennial visitation of the diocese of Salisbury, 1714; published together with a fermon preached at the same visitation. See Sermons, Numb. 43.

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III. TRACTS against POPERY.

1. The mystery of iniquity unvailed; in a discourse, wherein is held forth the opposition of the doctrine, worship and practices of the roman church to the nature, designs and characters of the christian faith (m).

1673. 12mo.

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(1) This learned, judicious and instructive performance, the result of great abilities and indefatigable industry, was drawn up in the year 1694, and sent to archbishop Tillotson, who revised and altered it in several places, and expressed his assonishment to see so vast a work begun and finished in less than a year; and declared the great pleasure and satisfaction with which he read it over. See Dr. Birch's life of archbishop Tillotson, p. 342.

This work was afterwards perused and approved by archbishops Tenison and Sharp, bishops Stillingsleet, Patrick, Lloyp, Hall and Williams: the last of these strongly recommended the considering them only as articles of peace, in which men were bound to acquiesce without contradiction; not as articles of faith, which they were obliged to believe. Life of Bishop Burnet, p. 74.

out contradiction; not as articles of faith, which they were obliged to believe. Life of Bishop Burnet, p.74.

The reverend Dr. Jonathan Edwards, principal of Jesus-College in Oxford, having published "an examination of the exposition of the second article," 1702, 4to. the bishop soon replied to the exceptions of that writer in a small tract, intitled "Remarks," &cc.

(m) A fecond edition of this tract appeared in 1688, in 4to, in which the fift part of the title, viz. "The mystery of iniquity unvailed," was omitted.

* 2. ROME'S

- *2. Rome's glory, or a collection of divers miracles wrought by popish faints collected out of their own authors, with a prefatory discourse, declaring the impossibility and folly of such vain impossures. 1673. 8vo.
- 3. An account given by J. Ken, a jesuit, of the truth of religion examined. 1674. 8vo.
- *4. A rational method for proving the truth of the chriftian religion, as it is professed in the church of England, in answer to "a rational compendious way to convince without dispute all persons whatsoever dissenting from the true religion, by J. Ken." 1675. 8vo.
- 5. A relation of a conference held about religion at LONDON, 3 April, 1676, by EDWARD STILLINGFLEET, D. D. and GILBERT BURNET, with some gentlemen of the church of ROME, [Mr. EDWARD COLEMAN, a jesuit, secretary to the duchess of YORK, and others.] At the end of the "relation of the conference," are added two discourses: I. To shew how unreasonable it is to ask for express words of scripture, in proving all articles of faith. II. To shew by what means the doctrines of the real presence and transubstantiation were introduced into the church.

This piece was reprinted in

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1687. 4to.

6. A vindication of the ordinations of the church of ENGLAND; in which it is demonstrated, that all the effentials of ordination according to the practice of the primitive and greek churches are still retained in our church; in answer to a paper written by one of the church of Rome, to prove the nullity of our orders; and given to a person of quality. [Sir Philip Terwhit's lady, at whose house the conference about religion was held, 3 April, 1676.]

The fecond edition of the "vindication of the ordinations," &c. was published, 1688. 4to.

7. A letter written upon the discovery of the late plot. 1678. 4to.

8. The unreasonableness and impiety of POPERY, in a second letter written upon the discovery of the late plot. * 1678. 4to.

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- 9. A decree made at ROME, 2 March, 1679, condemning some opinions of the Jesuits and other casuists.

 1679. 4to.
 - * 10. The infallibility of the romish church examined and confuted. 1680. 4to.
 - * 11. The policy of Rome, as delivered by cardinal Panavicini in his history of the council of Trent, with a preface by G. Burnet, D. D. 1681. 8vo.
 - 12. The letter writ by the last assembly general of the clergy of FRANCE to the protestants, inviting them to return to their communion, together with the methods proposed by them for their conviction, translated and examined.

 1683. 8vo.
- 13. A letter containing remarks on the two (n) papers, writ by his late majesty King CHARLES the second, concerning religion. This letter was written 1685, but not published till 1688.
 - Test imposed on all members of parliament, offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford.

 1688. 4to.
 - fered by Dr. Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford, for abrogating the Test: or an answer to his plea for translubstantiation, and for acquitting the church of Rome of idolatry.

 1688. 410.
 - into the reasons offered by Dr. Samuel Parker, bishop of Oxford, for abrogating the Test: relating to the idolatry of the church of Rome. 1688. 4to.

 The two last mentioned pieces, viz. Numb. 15 and

The two last mentioned pieces, viz. Numb. 15 and 16, were some few months after published in one tract, with this title, "A discourse concerning transfubstan-

(n) These papers were published by King JAMES II. soon after the death of his royal brother. He declared that he found them in the closet of the deceased King, and written with his own hand; they relate to the "unity and authority of the catholic church, and the reformation of the church of ENGLAND."

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the Works of the learned Bp. BURNET.

tiation and idolatry, being an answer to the bishop of Oxford's plea relating to those two points."

1688. 4to.

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17 and 18. (0) Reflections on "the relation of the english reformation, and the Theses relating to it," lately printed at Oxford, by Obadiah Walker, mafter of University-College, in two parts. Amsterdam 1688.

London 1689. 4to.

IV. TRACTS polemical, political and miscellaneous.

- 1. A modest and free conference between a conformist and nonconformist, in seven dialogues. Glasgow 1669.
- 2. A vindication of the authority, conflictation, and laws of the church and state of Scotland: in four conferences, wherein the answer to the dialogues betwixt the conformist and the nonconformist is examined. Glafgow 1673. 12mo.

A new edition of this piece was published 1724. 8vo.

- 3. Observations on the first and second of the Canons commonly ascribed to the holy apostles; wherein an account of the primitive constitution and government of churches is contained. Drawn from ancient and acknowledged writings.

 Glasgow 1673. 12mo.
- * 4. (p) A resolution of two important cases of conscience: Question the first. Is a woman's barrenness a just ground for divorce, or for polygamy? Question the

(a) In these resections, &c. not only the general grounds of the reformation of the church of ENGLAND are considered, but the matters of fact relating to that important affair are briefly and judiciously set forth and illustrated

(p) These papers are published in the appendix to the memoirs, &c. of John Macky, Esq; p. 25, &c. The occasion of his writing these pieces, about the year 1671, at the request of John Maitland, Earl of Laudendale, the king's high commissioner to the parliament of Scotland, afterwards created Duke of Laudendale and Earl of Guilsord, our author himself hath informed us in his "reflections on Dr. Hickes's discourses," &c. p. 76, &c. He adds, that in a letter to the Earl, he retracted the whole paper, and answered all the material things in it.

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A chronological Account of

fecond. Is polygamy in any case lawful under the gospel? both which cases the author resolved in the affirmative.

- * 5. A modest survey of a discourse, intitled " The naked truth, or the true state of the primitive church. by an humble moderator," [Dr. HERBERT CROFTS, bishop of Hereford. 1676. 4to.
- 6. A translation of Sir Thomas More's Utopia, with a preface concerning translations. 1683. 8vo.
- 7. Reasons against the repealing the acts of parliament concerning the TEST: humbly offered to the confideration of the members of both houses, at their next meeting, on the twenty eighth of April, 1687. 1687. 4to.
- 8. Some reflections on his majefty's proclamation of the twelfth of Feb. 1686, for a toleration in Scotland; together with the faid proclamation. 1687. 4to.
 - 9. A letter containing some reflections on his majesty's declaration for liberty of conscience, dated April 4, 1687. 4to.
 - 10. An answer to Mr. HENRY PAYNE's letter concerning his majefty's declaration of indulgence, writ to the author of a letter to a diffenter. 1687. 4to.
- 11. An answer to a paper printed with allowance, intitled a new test of the church of ENGLAND's lovalty. 1687.
- 12. The Earl of MELFORT's letter to the presbyterian ministers in SCOTLAND, writ in his majesty's name upon their address: together with some remarks upon it.
- 13. Reflections on a pamphlet, intitled, " Parliamentum pacificum," [written by John Northleigh, M. D.] licensed by the Earl of SUNDERLAND, and printed in London, in March 1688.
- 14. An apology for the church of ENGLAND, with relation to the spirit of persecution for which she is accufed. 1688. 4to. land street at disable and so my of a ne and about , as an an a 15. Some

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15. Some extracts out of Mr. James Stewart's letters, from 12 July to 19 Nov. 1687, which were communicated to Mynheer Fagel, the states pensioner of the province of Holland: together with some references to Mr. Stewart's printed letter. 1688. 4to.

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16. An edict in the roman law, [de inspiciendo ventre, custodiendoque partu] concerning the visiting a woman with child, and the looking after what may be born of her; with observations from ARISTOPHANES, and CICERO, relating to the like cases. 1688. 4to.

4.

17. An enquiry into the measures of submission to the supreme anthority, and of the grounds upon which it may be lawful or necessary for subjects to defend their religion, lives and liberties.

1688. 4to.

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18. A review of the reflections on the Prince of ORANGE's declaration; printed at Exeter in Nov. 1688.

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19. The citation of GILBERT BURNET, D. D. to answer in Scotland on 27 June, old style, 1687, for high treason; together with his answer, and three letters with by him upon that subject to the Right Hon. the Earl of MIDDLETOUN, his majesty's secretary of state.

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20. Dr. Burnet's vindication of himself from the calumnies with which he is aspersed in a pamphlet, intitled, "Parliamentum pacificum," [written by John Northleigh, M. D.] licensed by the Earl of Sunderland, and printed in London, March 1688.

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21. An enquiry into the present state of affairs: and in particular, Whether we owe allegiance to the King in these circumstances? And, Whether we are bound to treat with him, and call him back again, or not? Published by authority.

22. Reflections on a paper, intitled, "his majefty's reasons for withdrawing himself from ROCHESTER. Published by authority. 1688. 4to.

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- 23. (9) A pastoral letter writ by GILBERT Lord bihep of Sarum to the clergy of his diocese, concerning the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to King WILLIAM and Queen MARY; dated 15 May, 1688.
- 24. A speech in the house of Lords, December 1703, upon the bill, intitled, " an act for preventing occasional conformity."
 - * 25. A speech in the house of LORDS, 16 March, 1700 upon the first article of the impeachment of Dr. HENRY SACHEVERELL.
 - * 26. Four letters between GILBERT Lord bishop of Salifbury and Mr. HENRY DODWELL, on occasion of Mr. DODWELL's resolution to leave the nonjurors and return to the communion of the church of England.

1713. 8vo.

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V. HISTORY, and historical TRACTS.

- i. Memoirs of JAMES and WILLIAM Dukes of HA-MILTON. 1676.
- 2. (r) The history of the reformation of the church of ENGLAND; in three volumes, folio. The first volume was published 1679; the second in 1681; and the third in 1714.

3. An

(q) This patteral letter, having, in page 19, 20, 27, touched upon the sight of conquest, gave such offence to some persons in both houses of parliament, that it was extered to be burned by the hands of the common executioner, in 1693. See Bishop KENNET's complete history of ENGLAND, Vol. iii. p. 587.

(r). Upon the publication of the first volume of this most excellent work, the author obtained a distinguishing mark of honour, never before or fince paid to any writer: he had the thanks of both houses of Parliament, with a defire that he would profecute the undertaking, and complete that valuable work. Accordingly, in less than two years after, he printed the second volume, which met with the same general approbation as the first; and such was his readiness in composing, that he wrote the historical part in the compass of fix weeks, after all his materials were laid in order. See the Life of the author, p. 22.

The

3. (s) An abridgment of the history of the reformation. 1682.

In support of the facts contained in the history of the reformation, the author published,

- *4. Reflections on Mr. VARILLAS's history of the revolutions that have happened in EUROPE in matters of religion, and more particularly in his ninth book that relates to ENGLAND.

 Amsterdam 1686. 12mo.
- * 5. A defence of the reflections on the ninth book of the first volume of Mr. V ARILLAS'S history of HERESIES; being a reply to his answer. Amsterdam 1687. 12mo.

The character given of this useful history by some celebrated writers deserveth a place in this account of his works. Dr. William Niehol-son, bishop of Carlisle, afterwards archbishop of Carlisle, in Ireland, in his english historical library, p. 119, observeth, that the author "hath given a punctual account of all the affairs of the reformation, from its beginning, in the reign of Henry VIII to its sinal establishment under Queen Elizabeth, 1559. That the whole is penned in a masculine stile, such as becomes an historian, and is the property of this author in all his writings. The collection of Records, which he gives at the end of each volume, are good vouchers of the truth of what he delivers in the body of the history, and are much more perfect, than could reasonably be expected, after the pains taken, in Queen Mary's days, to supports every thing, that carried marks of reformation upon it."

press every thing, that carried marks of reformation upon it."

Another writer says, that these volumes "are pieces as profitable, as inimitable; and for their sincerity, impartiality, and the authentic proof of their authority, are justly valued by all the learned men of the reformed nations of Eugope, as likewise they are envied (not contemned) by the men of letters, who are enemies to the reformation. In these books his name will shine while names of men remain; and as long as learning is in the world, or the world stands for men to learn, this champion of the reformation will be read as the most authentic writer, to inform posterity of the manner, method and nature of that great transaction in these kingdoms, which overthrew the romish Hierarchy, deposed the tyranny of Borek in God's church, introducing gradually the truth and purity of doctrine and worship, which is now enjoyed by us all." See Dr. Charles Owen's funeral sermon preached upon the occasion of the death of the late bishop of Sarring of 28.

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of SARUM, p. 28, 29.

(2) In this work, the author tells us, he had wholly waved every thing that belonged to the RECORDS, and the proof of what he relates, or to the confutation of the fallehoods that run through the popula historians;

all which may be found in the history at large.

To the edition, in two volumes 12mo, published 1719, there was added another volume of that fize, containing an abridgment of the third volume, folio, by GILBERT BURNET, M. A. the bishop's second fon; a clergyman of great worth, and distinguished eminence for his uncommon fagacity and folid judgment; whose answer to Mr. WILLIAM LAW's second letter to the bishop of BANGOR, is allowed to be among the best pieces in that controversy. See Mr. HEARNE'S account of the Eargerian controversy, p. 22.

A chronological Account of

* 6. A continuation of reflections on Mr. VARILLAS'S history of HERESIES; particularly on that which relates to english affairs, in his third and fourth tomes.

Amsterdam 1687. 12mo.

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1685. 4to.

18. (t) A letter written to Dr. BURNET, giving some account of cardinal Pole's secret powers; from which it

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(1) The letter relating to cardinal Pole, hath been ascribed to Sir William Coventry, Knt. youngest son to Thomas Coventry Lord Coventry, Lord keeper of the great seal in the reign of King Charles the first. Of this worthy gentleman the following narrative may be acceptable to the reader. He was appointed secretary to the Duke of York soon after the restoration, and also secretary to the admiralty, and elected burgess for Great Yarmouth, in Norsolk, in the parliament which met in May 1661. He was created doctor of the civil law at Oxford 1663; sworm of the privy council, and received the honour of knighthood, 26 June, 1665; made one of the commissioners of the treafury, 24 May, 1667. See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. Vol. ii. p. 601. Edit. 1692.

Fie was, as bishop Burner relates, "a man of great notions and eminent virtues; the best speaker in the house of Commons, and capable of bearing the chief ministry, as it was once thought he was very near it, and deferved it more than all the rest did. See Collins's peerage of England,

Vol. ii. part ii. 8vo. 1735.

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appears that it was never intended to confirm the alicnation that was made of the abbey lands. To which are added two BREVES that cardinal Pole brought over, and fome other of his letters, that were never before printed. 1685. 4to.

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The second edition was published in London, 1713.

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(u) There have been several editions of this curious and entertaining narrative, the last of which was printed 1750, 12mo. It vastly surpasseth every thing in its kind extant, in the style, sentiments, matter and method. The sine spirit which shinesth through it, is admirable. It is likely, that he exerted himself in an extraordinary manner, in the composition, having chosen a person of so eminent a character for his patron. His observations upon the corruptions and impostures of popery must afford peculiar pleasure to every genuine and consistent protessant.

(w) The name of Anthony Harmer was a sicitious and delusive

(w) The name of ANTHONY HARMER was a fictitious and delufive name, assumed in order to conceal the true author, who was Mr. HENRY

WHARTON, chaplain to archbishop SANCROFT.

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23. An essay on the memory of Queen MARY. London 1695. 8vo. Edinburgh 1695. 12mo.

24. Reflections on a book, intitled "the rights, powers and privileges of an english convocation stated and vindicated," by FRANCIS ATTERBURY, M. A. afterwards bishop of Rochester and dean of Westminster.

1700. 4to.

25. (x) The history of his own time, in two volumes, folio. The first published 1723, the second in 1734. (y) To which was added the life of the author by his son, Thomas Burnet, Esq. since one of the justices of the cours of common pleas; who also published a defence of this history, in reply to the objections of the Right Hon. George Granville Lord Lansdown, contained in a pamphlet, intitled, "A letter to the author of the reslections historical and political."

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The Bishop left finished and prepared for the press, a book intitled "Essays and MEDITATIONS on Mo-RALITY and RELIGION;" with directions in his last Will that it should be printed, but I cannot find that this order was ever executed.

13 March, 1753. R. F.

(x) The author of a paper in HIBERNICUS'S letters, &c. written by feveral eminent hands in Dublin, stiles this "an incomparable history, which for its noble impartiality and fincerity never was equalled but by POLYBIUS and PHILIP de COMINES: a history which hath received the best testimony of its worth from the mouth of its enemies, by giving equal effence to the bigotted and interested of all parties, sects and denominations, amongst us. A history, which doth honour to the language it is writ in, and will for ever make the name of BURNET facred and venerable to all, who prefer an empire of reason and laws to that of blind passion and unbridled will and pleasure." See HIBERNIEUS's letters, Vol. i. Numb. xxiii.

(y) The conclusion of this history, which is addressed to men of all orders and degrees, hath been published in small rame, that it may circulate into the hands of numbers of persons whom the history itself might never reach. It is, as the Bishop himself observeth, "a sort of testament or dying speech, which, saith he, I leave behind me to be read and considered when I can speak no more." The alarming important truths contained in it, are expressed in such a propriety and energy of style, and so solven the theory are admirably calculated and adapted to awaken in the rising generation, a strong

and lively sense of religion, virtue and public spirit.

In St. James's church, Clerkenwell, is a fair marble monupediment, which is circular, is supported by pilasters of the the center are the arms of the See of Salisbury and BURNET, books and rolls; amongst which is one intitled, HIST. REFORM.

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INSCRIPTION.

H. S. E.
GILBERTUS BURNET, S. T. P.

Episcopus Sarisburiensis
Et nobilissimi Ordinis à Periscelide Cancellarius Natus EDINBURGI, 18 die Septembris Anno Domini MDCXLIII. Parentibus ROBERTO BURNET, Domino de CREMONT, Ex antiquissima domo de Leves, et Rachele Johnston, Sorore Domini de Waristoun

ABERDONIAE Literis instructus SALTONI curae animarum invigilavit, Inde Juvenis adhuc Sacro-Sanctae Theologiae Professor in Academia GLASGOENSI electus eft.

Postquam in ANGLIAM transsit rem sacram per aliquot Annos Templo Rotulorum LONDINI administravit, donec nimis acriter (ut ils qui rerum tum potiebantur visum est)

Ecclesiae Romanae malas artes insectatus, ab officio submotus est.

E patria, temporum iniquitate profugus, EUROPAM peragravit. Et deinceps cum Principe Auriaco reversus, primus omnium a Rege Gultelmo et Regina Maria Praesul designatus, et in summum tandem fiduciae testimonium ab eodem Principe Duci GLOCESTRIBNSI Praeceptor dictus eft.

Tyrannidi et Superstitioni semper infensum scripta eruditissima Demonstrant, nec non Libertatis Patriae veraeque Religionis strenuum semperque indesessum Propugnatorem. Quarum utriusque conservandae spem unam jam à longo tempore in Illustrissima Domo BRUNSVICENSI collocarat. Possquam autem Dei Providentia fingulari Regem GEORGIUM Sceptro BRITANNO potitum conspexerat; brevi jam Annorum et felicitatis fatur è vivis excessit.

Duxit Uxorem Deminam MARGARITAM KENNEDY Comitis CASSILIAE filiam, dein MARIAM SCOT HAGAZ COMITIS, quae et Septem liberos peperit, quorum adhuc in vivis funt GULIELMUS, GILBERTUS, MARIA, ELIZABETHA et THOMAS. Postremo Uxorem duxit viduam ELIZABETHAM BERKELEY qua duos liberos suscepit, fato praematuro non multo post extinctos. Amplissimam pecuniam in pauperibus alendis, et in sumptibus fed ad utilitatem publicam spectantibus, vivus continuo erogavit, moriens Duo millia Aureorum ABERDONIAE SALTONOQUE ad Juventutem pauperiorem instituendam Testamento legavit. Obiit 17 Die Martii, Anno Domini MDCCXIV-XV. Ætatis LXXII.

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ment, erected to the memory of bishop Burnet. The composite order, on the extremities of which are urns, and in impaled in a shield; on the freeze are cut in Relievo several and on the tablet underneath is this

Here lies interred
GILBERT BURNET, Doctor in Divinity,
Bishop of Salisbury,

renderming the or compact belong BORNEY shering

and CHANCELLOR of the most noble Order of the Garter.

Born at EDINBURGH the 18th of September A. D. MDCXLIII.

His Parents were ROBERT BURNET, Laird of CREMONT,

descended from the most ancient Family of LEYES, and RACHEL JOHNSTON,

Sister to the Lord of WARISTOUN.

Having studied at ABERDEEN he entered on the cure of souls at SALTON, And though as yet a young man, he was chosen Divinity Professor In the University of GLASCOW.

From hence he passed into England, where he performed the duties
Of the ministerial office for several years in the Rolls chapel in London,
Till for inveighing too sharply (in the opinion of those who were then at the head of afAgainst the impious Frauds of the church of Rome, [fairs]

He was suspended from his office, and being forced to fly his country,
By the iniquity of the times, he made a Tour through EUROPE,
And afterwards returning with the Prince of ORANGE, he was
the first Bishop nominated by King WILLIAM and Queen MARY;
And which was the highest mark of Confidence, was, at length by the same Prince
made Preceptor to the Duke of Gloucester.

His most learned Writings demonstrate that he was a declared Enemy

to Tyranny and Superfittion; and that he was always a frenuous indefatigable Advocate for the Liberty of his Country and the true Religion; For the Prefervation of each of which he had for a long time before placed his only hopes in the most illustrious Family of BRUNSWICK:

And, after by the special Providence of Gon, he had seen King GRORGE in the Possession of the British sceptre, he soon departed this Life, baving attained the summit of his wishes with regard to length of days and earthly hap-

He married first the Lady MARGARET KENNEDY, daughter of the Earl of Cassils, and asterwards Mary Scot of the Hague, who bore him seven children, of whom William, Gilbert, Mary, Elizabeth, and Thomas are still living. Lastly, he married Elizabeth Berkeley, a widow, By whom he had two children, which were snatched away in their Insancy, While he lived, he was continually bestowing considerable sums of money in relieving the Poor, and in other expences conducing to the public Benefit; And at his death he left a Legacy of two thousand Pounds the Instruction of root children and vouce ressented.

in relieving the Poor, and in other expences conducing to the public Benefit;

And at his death he left a Legacy of two thousand Pounds
for the Instruction of poor children and young persons at ABERDEEN and SALTON.
fie died the 17th of March, A D. MDCCKIV-XV, in the seventy second
Year of his Age.

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POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the foregoing papers were fent to the press, the reverend Mr. SAMPSON LETSOME hath published an useful performance, intitled, "The PREACH-

ER's Assistant, in two parts."

In reviewing the account of bishop Burnet's sermons contained in "this work," it appeareth, that Mr. Letsome hath ascribed to him two suneral sermons: 1. on Ephes. v. 16. 1678. 4to. 2. On 2 Tim. i. 6. 1689. 4to. But I apprehend there is some mistake in this ascription. It is certain, that neither of these fermons is included in the collection of sermons and discourses, written and printed in the years 1677—1704, published by the bishop's direction in 1704, in three volumes, 4to. And I am the more confirmed in this sentiment, by observing, that Mr. Letsome hath not referred to any library, as containing the said sermons, nor produced any other authentic evidence in support of his ascribing them to the bishop.

The like mistake may be observed in another work of the same nature with Mr. Letsome's, intitled, "An INDEX to the sermons published since the Restoration, in two parts; the first printed in 1734, the second in 1738; since reprinted together in one volume, with considerable

additions and improvements, 1751.

N. B. In drawing up the preceding account of the numerous writings of the late eminent and worthy prelate, the greatest diligence and application have been exerted in order to procure such authentic intelligence, as might render it complete and accurate. But amidst a great variety of small tracts written and printed separately, at very different times, and at a period very distant from the present, it is not improbable, but that some of those lesser pieces may have escaped the observation of the compiler. The discovery and correction of any errors or desects of this kind, communicated to Mr. MILLAR in the Strand, will be gratefully acknowledged as a particular savour.

26 March, 1753.



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